

INSIDE: Kissinger takes on Central America

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AUGUST 1, 1983 VOL. 54 NO. 31

COVER

The world of Alex Colville

In 1948 Canadian war artist Alex Colville spent a day wandering through the Louvre. Ever since, he has hoped to see his own hauntingly realistic works on those hallowed walls. A major travelling retrospective which opened at the Art Gallery of Ontario last week proves conclusively that Alex Colville's artistic immortality is indeed assured. —Page 43

COVER PHOTO BY GARY WILLY



Protesting the cruise

Antinuclear protesters determinedly marched across Canada last week as the movement to stop cruise testing gathered strength and refused to go away. —Page 10



The prime of Jim Neilford

In his sixth year on the Professional Golf Association tour, Jim Neilford of Barrie, B.C., is at peace with himself and his game—and it's paying off. —Page 68



The return of Kissinger

President Ronald Reagan's appointment of Henry Kissinger to lead a commission studying Central America drew praise and outright condemnation. —Page 26



Greenpeace in Siberia

Some of its members were detained by Soviet troops, but Greenpeace says it now has hard evidence that will prove alleged Soviet whaling activities. —Page 36

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A crisis of mounting AIDS hysteria

By David Kline

Charles (Chuck) Morris was lying in his hospital bed, wondering how much longer he would live, when he received a registered letter. It was an eviction notice from his landlord. "He said he was worried I might die in the apartment and get the place stuck in probate somehow," recalls Morris. "Really, he was afraid he would catch AIDS from me." For Morris, 40, the former publisher of *The Sentinel*, a bi-monthly magazine for homosexuals, the eviction notice was the second in three years and still another blow in a series of misfortunes that began in the spring of 1981, when he learned that he had the killer disease AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome).

Morris is one of 180 known AIDS sufferers in San Francisco. Although there are more cases in New York City, where half of the recorded 678 AIDS-related deaths have occurred, the disease's impact has been particularly devastating in San Francisco, where homosexuals now account for an estimated 20 per

cent of the city's 780,000 residents. As the number of AIDS cases continues to rise—more than 1,700 in the United States so far and scattered cases in Canada and Europe—an epidemic of fear is sweeping San Francisco, where at least one new case is reported each day. Although 75 per cent of AIDS victims are homosexual males—the others are in-

The impact of AIDS in the city has been devastating: homosexual men account for 20 per cent of the city's population

travenous drug users, hemophiliacs and, increasingly, Haitian immigrants—concern about a possible widespread public contagion is evolving to one-point, because the cause and the nature of the disease remains a mystery.

The disease, which is almost always

fatal, breaks down the body's natural system of immunity, above killing its victims with such ailments as Kaposi's sarcoma, a rare form of cancer that causes skin lesions, or pneumocystis carinii, a pneumonia. Some doctors suspect that a virus causes AIDS, although they have not yet been able to isolate it. The U.S. department of health announced on July 12 that its discovery of a virus-like substance, which while blood cells produce, could provide a breakthrough, but it cautioned against premature expectations of a quick cure. So far, all available evidence suggests that AIDS can only be transmitted sexually or through blood transfusions.

In San Francisco much of the fear spawned by the disease is justified. Social and economic changes are transforming the city's homosexual community in response to the growing awareness of how AIDS is transmitted. Recently, hundreds in bars, bathhouses and clubs that enter to seek seeking anonymous sexual contact has declined markedly. At least two bathhouses have closed. Others are posting public-health



Some bathhouse earnings: a dramatic decrease in the overall number of sexual contacts

warnings signs at the city's request. Conceded Hal Slat, owner of the Caldon, one of the estimated 300 homosexual clubs in San Francisco: "The sex business is, if you will, treading the gas, soft." The Caldon now posts signs advising patrons of supposed ways to maintain good health even while engaging in fre-

quent, undiscriminating sex: "Spend more time with your partner," says one sign. "Get to know him—before moving on to another."

City officials are also concerned about the health risks that businessmen entering to homosexuals pose. Many sexuals constitute an estimated 20 per

cent of the four million annual tourists to the "City by the Bay." Explained San Francisco's public health director, Dr. Maryn Silverman: "It is the danger that multiple, anonymous sexual contact takes place in certain facilities, then it poses a health risk. There is the potential that AIDS will be spread from here around the country." Added city Board of Supervisors member Harry Britt, himself a homosexual: "You are risking your life if you go to bathhouses and private men's clubs."

Some homosexuals resent the stereotype of promiscuousness that they are acquiring. They point out that many homosexuals form monogamous relationships. Still, recently the vast majority of homosexuals have made changes in their sexual behavior. A recent study conducted by San Francisco psychotherapist Leon McKinnick

found homosexuals now revealed a decrease both in drug use and in the overall number of sexual contacts within the homosexual community. Explained Edward Powers, project director of an AIDS vaccine that taken only from those who are worried about the disease: "There is much more concern now with our health

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Wasn't that a well spent minute? Now, back to summer.

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Cruise protesters in Toronto (above); Trudeau and crew arriving in Yellowknife; a nationwide message to the Prime Minister

CANADA

Testing the cruise decision

By John Hay

FROM St. John's to Yellowknife, the anti-cruise missile movement has gathered momentum for a series of demonstrations and lobbying. Little knots of pickets formed in front of local Liberal party headquarters in several centres within 24 hours of the announcement that the United States Air Force can start the tests in the North next winter. On Saturday large parades were staged in cities across the country. A "Refuse the cruise" delegation visited the Canadian Embassy in Washington and rallies, pickets and vigils were held at Canadian consulates in 14 U.S. cities. In Ottawa, a coalition of 26 anti-cruise groups asked the Federal Court of Canada for an injunction to stop the tests.

The activity was intended to show that, even though the government has made its decision, the movement is not giving up on an issue that has become the focus for Canadian peace campaigners over the past year. "People are energized," said neo-cruise activist Valerie Osborne of Dartmouth, N.S. "But they are absolutely determined not to let the matter rest here."

In St. John's, protesters marched from city hall to Bowdoin Park, a Halifax group held a wedding of a mock cruise missile in Toronto, where protesters had been camping in front of

Liberal headquarters since the July 15 cruise announcement, 3,000 protesters marched past the U.S. Consulate in British Columbia, local peace groups are gearing up to reflect anti-cruise positions from every federal riding in the country. Their sponsors include the Canadian Labor Congress, the Greenpeace environmental organization and church groups. And in Yellowknife last week, about 40 demonstrators roared behind the airport buses when Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau landed there on his

northern tour. The cause was not helped when a 26-year-old man calling himself an art student threw red paint on one of the two original copies of the Constitution stored in the National Archives in Ottawa. Police charged Peter R. Greyson of Toronto with mischief and said he had claimed to be protesting cruise testing.

In the Federal Court, groups ranging from the huge Canadian Union of Public Employees to the Czechoslovak (CZ) Citizens for Nuclear Disarmament



AP/WIDE WORLD

asked for an injunction on grounds that the tests would violate Canadian constitutional rights to "life, liberty and security of the person" by failing to allow the armed force Associate Chief Justice James Gauthier was expected to set a date sometime in August for an initial hearing. The lawyer for the group, Lawrence Greenough, said he is "in a confident" that he will at least obtain a hearing for arguments for an interim injunction. Government lawyers, however, are planning a motion to quash the application, arguing that it has no legal merit, that it is "irrelevant and vexatious" and that it amounts to an abuse of the judicial process.

For his part, Trudeau repeated his argument that the tests are a contribution to NATO's so-called two-track strategy adopted in 1979. That involves trying to negotiate an arms control treaty with Moscow while preparing to build more and Pershing II missiles in Europe later this year if no treaty is reached.

In fact, there is no direct link between the tests and the two-track decision. They were requested by the U.S. Air Force and they involve un-launched cruise missiles fired from B-52 bombers based in the United States—a means of extending the strategic bomber's range deeper into the Soviet interior. NATO, by contrast, is developing ground-launched cruise missiles in Europe as accompaniment-range weapons. U.S. officials have said that they would want the cruise tests in Canada only if European deployment were cancelled by an arms control treaty. In his incoherent utterance, Trudeau implied that he would reconsider cruise tests if a public "business" emerged against the tests. That he linked such a move to a hypothetical withdrawal from NATO—a move most Canadians would oppose.

Anti-cruise spokesman deplored Trudeau's claim that testing the unarmoured cruise is no different from flight-training Royal Air Force fighters over Labrador or holding exercises for German tank crews in Moncton. They argue that because cruise missiles are so small (about 20 feet long), they are easily hidden from an enemy. That makes their existence hard to verify, which makes reaching an arms-control agreement even more difficult.

The air-launched cruise tests have become a durable and potent symbol for Canadians concerned about the arms race—just as the nuclear issue does dominates the U.S. peace movement, and NATO's missile deployment has galvanized the European movement. With the issue drawn between the government and its critics, both sides are locked in a battle for public support.

Was Ottawa Justice in Vancouver, Sherry McKay in Toronto and Stephen Kramer in Halifax.

Devine's farmland safari

WHEN Premier Grant Devine boarded a van and set out on a campaign-style tour of rural Saskatchewan, his officials shared a general assumption about how he would be received. The week-long safari that ended last Saturday was Devine's first extended trek to meet the public since he led the Conservatives to a landslide victory in the April, 1982, election. Moreover, the rural electorate was restless about falling farm prices, higher costs and abundant backlogs for a growing number of farmers. Said Devine's press secretary Gord Spier: "It should be very interesting. People in rural Saskatchewan tend to speak their minds when they get a chance to meet the premier."

But the concerns of Devine and his aides were promptly calmed. As he

in 1982 dollars, was worth \$9.30 a bushel almost 10 years ago. Nationally, the numbers have also risen dramatically. There were 228 farm failures in the first six months of 1983, compared with 126 in 1982.

One of those trapped in the shadow of bankruptcy is Ken Bottorill, who farms the same land near the Saskatchewan-Manitoba border that his great-uncle homesteaded. Bottorill is fighting back as a new midland mortgage on the land. Saddle by almost \$200,000 in debt and 13 months in mortgage arrears with the Bank of Montreal, Bottorill enlisted the help of neighbors to set up a blockade at his farm after bank officials representing the bank moved in to seize 60 head of cattle after a three-day standoff. The cattle left—Bottorill said trying to sell them off. Bankruptcy. The severe financial



Devine at outback: twenty farmers, bankruptcies and pressure from the banks.

moved throughout the province, large and generally friendly crowds greeted him. At a public gathering on a farm near Devine, 400 people turned out in the rain to eat barbecued beef and drink beer. When the crowd finished eating, Devine jumped on the back of a pickup truck to tell the assembly that being a Saskatchewan farmer meant being "concentrator-minded." "If you're going to work land and when for more, you're not one of them," Devine said.

But hard work does not automatically ensure success for the farmers. Although one out of three farmers is delinquent, farm bankruptcies have doubled in Saskatchewan in the first six months of 1983. As prices of machinery and land continue to increase, grain prices are slumping. When that sold for \$6.93 a bushel last summer, new contracts only \$5.07. The same wheat, compared

strain is reflected in lending terms from private banks, as well as from the federal government's Farm Credit Corp. Canada (FCC). In April the corporation's special farm financial assistance program offered \$150 million in "five interest" money at reduced interest rates. Within two months the funds were exhausted. Last week, the FCC reversed cabinet approval to raise another \$500 million on the money markets to bolster its lending program.

The farmers are fighting back by forcing or removing their own institutions. One of them is the long-dormant Canadian Agriculture Movement (CAM), which is pushing for higher commodity prices. Said CAM President Jim Cormack: "It is time that we became masters of our own destiny." Devine and other premiers will have to heed the call. —DAVID THOMAS in Regina.



Maloney with wife Jos. DeCosta, a country manner reserved for the East Coast

A campaign and a clean house

Only former Hugh Downs, of Thorburn, N.B., was saying goodbye to the wit when a mid-splattered half-ton truck stopped at his farmyard Brian Maloney, the national leader of the Progressive Conservative party, stepped out, dressed in casual cotton slacks, plaid shirt and moccasins—every inch a vacationing townsman in his first full week of campaigning for the Central Nova by-election. Maloney dropped in, often unannounced, on farmers, fishermen and shopkeepers, accompanied by Elmer MacKay, the former MP who resigned his seat to make way for the new leader. Maloney's coastal country manner, however, was reserved strictly for the East Coast. In Ottawa, his sterner characteristics demanded to be heaped stacking the Conservative house of Joe Clark allies.

Already, Maloney has accepted the resignations of three key party executives: Clark's close personal adviser, Stewart Lowell Murray, resigned as head of the election campaign committee, Toronto accountant Ralph Sykes is rumored to have quit as head of the listers that will oversee the transition of a Tory government in its office, and Senator Arthur Tremblay has left his role as policy review committee chairman. Toronto businessman Paul Wood, who managed Maloney's leadership campaign, is a possible successor to Murray and York University Prof. Charles McMillan will probably take over from Tremblay on the policy committee. As well, Terry Yalen has re-

signed as head of the party's fund-raising operations, the PC Canada Fund. Meanwhile, Maloney the candidate has taken his local campaigning very seriously. He plans to spend all but three days before the Aug. 26 vote in the sprawling riding, leaving from Aug. 7 to 9 to campaign for poultry farmer Gerry St. Germain in the Mission-Park Moody by-election in British Columbia. Throughout the campaign, Maloney has kept a discreet distance from the major issues facing the nation, such as cruise missile tests, nuclear and abortion. Whether out of civility or respect, his prospective constituents have not pressed him to face them either. Rather, they have welcomed him with conventional pleasantries. Lawrence and Elmer Williams, two of the riding's staunchest Liberals, even shut down their Wilkes-Barre motel in Lunenburg for a few nights when Maloney came to visit. "Glad to do it," said Lawrence diplomatically. "We're not too strong on politicians, but we're not against any of them either." In an interview with Maloney's, Maloney strode his position on these issues which have been devastating Canadian headlines. "Abortion should be approved by

medical committees properly in place in legitimate hospitals, in extraordinary circumstances. Rape and incest—these are extraordinary circumstances."

Medicine: "It's not an issue. Of all the obligations of government, none is more sacred or important than caring for those who are unable to care for themselves." User fees are "the consequence of prodigality" of federal bureaucrats, and would "hopefully" be unnecessary in a properly run government.

Cruise missile testing: "We must be full-fledged members of the Western Alliance and assume our responsibilities as a country. If one of those responsibilities is testing the guidance system of the cruise missile, so be it. I do not peacify around, nor does the Conservative party, as to where we stand."

Despite the warm welcome Maloney has received, there remains resentment in some parts of the riding against him for being parachuted in, far being a Quebecer like Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, and even for being an Irishman among the Scots of Nova Scotia.

Berber Harry Muir, of Stellarton, for one, commented after a brief Maloney visit, "You can't tell whether the talk will amount to any negative votes at election time." Although his opponents hope this an all-out campaign debate can be organized to give the masses an airing, Maloney said, "As we move into the House of Commons, then we'll be discussing the larger issues." Hoping to cash in on some of the home-grown resentment to Maloney is Liberal candidate Alvin Sinclair. As a 55-year-old New Glasgow town councillor and high school principal, Sinclair is well known in the sprawling and populous Pictou County area and will try to rebut the Liberals' poor popularity by playing up

his own familiarity with constituents. Although, Sinclair may have little chance of winning, he predicts that he will prevail because Central Nova will not support "some man from Quebec." Ben Roy DeMarsh, the NRC candidate, will not become involved in any issues during the campaign. "Like the Irish say, [Maloney] is a daffin man," he declared warmly.

—MICHAEL GILBERTSON, with the Maloney campaign.

Maloney: resignations



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Washed-out bridge at Rogers Pass, repairs took too long for resort owners

Cutting them off at The Pass

Rarely has the fragile nature of Canada's road and rail links been so apparent as when recent heavy rains and flooding in the Rogers Pass knocked out a bridge on the Trans-Canada Highway. The bridge washed out or fell's main line and disrupted travel between British Columbia and the rest of the country for 18 days. The rushing waters of Wooley Creek, for five days of rain, pushed one corner of a concrete-and-steel bridge 30 km east of Revelstoke into the creek on July 15, but it was three days before work crews could move the lumbering equipment to build a temporary span into the sea. Although both the Highway and the railway reopened last week, the collapse was a stark reminder to travellers that the Rogers Pass—flood in winter because of snow slides—may no longer be safe in summer either.

The collapse of the bridge at the entrance gate of Mount Revelstoke National Park forced British Columbia-bound tourists to detour 200 km north to the Yellowknife or take a similarly strenuous trip to the south. That produced a booming business at campgrounds and motels on the detour routes, but it was a serious economic blow for 400 resorts between Revelstoke and Kamloops that depend on the Trans-Canada traffic. They complained that "unnecessary delays in reopening the road had cost them \$20 million in lost business. "We died it was badly hurt," said Victor Chavichoff, owner of a virtually deserted motel and campground in Revelstoke. "If it was an emergency and the Trans-Canada is a vital link across the country, then why not work around the clock?" he said. "Nobody of any importance came out to

look at the highway. They treated it as though it was a back road sidepiece." Businessmen in the Revelstoke area pointed to the example set by or Road, which had up to 300 men working 24 hours a day to replace roadbed.

Paric Canada, which is responsible for maintaining roads through national parks, deflected the complaints, saying that 25 kind workers were busy 14 hours a day in the trail and flood conditions of Wooley Creek. "It rained continuously until Friday [July 15], when the construction company started moving in equipment," said William Galichien, regional parks superintendent. "They were working with trees, boulders and debris all over the place, and I am pleased with the progress made."

The washouts halted freight trains and forced Van Road to fly as many as 1,800 stranded passengers a day from Calgary to Vancouver. But it was the break in the Trans-Canada Highway that drew attention—and criticism—to Paric Canada. B.C. Tourism Minister Gerald Richmond accused the federal officials of unnecessary delays, and the provincial resort operators association demanded an investigation.

Although the resort operators failed to get approval for an inquiry into the road closure, they were somewhat mollified when Richmond arrived in Revelstoke last Friday. With the face of a politician at a ribbon-cutting ceremony, he led a winding procession of salopettes, marking the reopening of the highway. The relief moved at a pace the resort owners found strikingly similar to that of the road repair crew.

—MALCOLM GRAY
in Vancouver

Manitoba fights the mosquito war

For the Manitoba government it was a cruel dilemma. The country's sole surviving New Democratic Party government, soundly re-elected in an election, was confronted with the choice of a massive chemical spraying program or the risk of another of the province's deadly outbreaks of western equine encephalitis. But last week it decided that the potential hazards of the insecticide are easier to face than the ravages of the disease, and late last week an elderly DC-6 lumbered into the air as a 10-day, 21-concentrate mosquito-killing mission.

The \$3-million program will use the chemical Malathion to suppress a burgeoning mosquito population which is threatening the ideal conditions of bone and sanity of the summer of 1983. The disease, which is thought to be transmitted from birds to humans and horses by infected mosquitoes, has a mortality rate that may be as high as 10 per cent. In 1941, 79 people died from encephalitis in Manitoba, and in the most recent outbreak in 1961 two of the 27 infected people died.

Despite that history, the government approached its decision cautiously. Reeling as surely in 1981 over the use of the chemical Buggin, in the aerial spraying, Environment Minister Jay Cowan consulted Joseph Cummins, a genetics professor at the University of Western Ontario in London, Ontario. Cummins has urged governments to stop dumping Buggin on urban populations because of its toxicity when it combines with nitrogen oxides it forms nitro-Buggin, a carcinogen that can remain active for months and can cause birth defects.

As the program began in Winnipeg last Saturday, however, Margaret Reynolds, for one, was grateful for the early warning, although the still has reservations about the long-term effects of Malathion. "In 1981 we had absolutely no warning," she said, "and I was in the yard with my two-week-old baby when the plane swooped over and sprayed Buggin."

Since 1975 there have been four health emergencies declared and subsequent aerial spraying ordered in Manitoba. Cummins believes that chemical spraying may make the problem worse by disrupting the natural predators of mosquitoes. Winnipeg's entomologist, Roy Ekin, said the solution to the mosquito problem is to find more research and step up larviciding programs in the spring. But his advice seems doubly to be forgotten as soon as the crisis has passed. —PETER CARLTON GORDON
in Winnipeg

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The return of Kissinger

By Larry Glynn

Six years after he stepped down as former president Gerald R. Ford's secretary of state, Henry Kissinger returned to the corridors of power last week as President Ronald Reagan's nominee to head a 10-man, two-party commission on U.S. policy in Central America. Reagan announced the appointment in a speech to the annual convention of the International Longshoremen's Association in Florida. With the administration's policies of military aid to El Salvador and "covert" war against Nicaragua encountering equally or hostilities at home and overseas increasing in the region still, the choice of Kissinger underscored the White House's sense of urgency. Reagan charged Kissinger's group with forging "a foundation for a long-term, unified national approach" in Central America. "We must not allow ideological obsession to win by default," Reagan declared. "Henry Kissinger brings the credentials of a diplomat who has become virtually a legend in that field."

Predictably, the nomination was controversial. While Republican Senator Howard Baker Jr. and Democratic Senator Henry Jackson approved, Republican Senator Jesse Helms said that he could not think of anyone "in this broad land who is lower on my list of choices." From advance indications, Kissinger is more likely to become a salesman for existing policy than an architect of new departures. In the past he has opposed open war with Nicaragua, but he favored "an overt American military presence" on the Honduras-Nicaragua border to stop Nicaraguans aid to guerrillas in El Salvador.

Kissinger is unquestionably the most praised—and vilified—U.S. diplomat in memory in his eight-year stint (1969-76) first as former president Richard Nixon's national security adviser, and later as secretary of state under both Nixon and Ford. Kissinger became a global celebrity, something of a ladies' man and a renowned wit. "I haven't addressed such a distinguished audience," he told one Washington gathering. "Since dining alone in the (Versailles) Hall of Mirrors." His calculatedly accented English—Kissinger came to New York City from Nazi Germany as a teenager—became familiar worldwide. Panned by solitary press coverage, his

reputation for negotiating savvy, patience and ruthlessness hung over into that of a later-day Machiavelli. No diplomatic temple, it was often said, was profaned against the unbecoming guise of "Henry the K."

Kissinger audaciously featured his image as "Super K"—and sometimes employed it as a weapon. But it was based on a striking series of accomplishments. Together with Nixon, Kissinger ultimately negotiated U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam, the most painful American trauma in a generation. For that he drew a Nobel Peace Prize with North Vietnam's Le Duc Tho (who he refused it). Kissinger also played a crucial role in Nixon's reformation of U.S. global strategy, fostering détente with the Soviets, negotiating the first Strategic Arms Limitations Treaty (SALT) and engineering the "opening" to Communist China. Kissinger's finest hours were during the Ford years. His shuttle diplomacy between Israel, Syria and Egypt cleared the way for the creation of demilitarized zones between the opposing armies and laid the groundwork on which the Camp David peace accords were later built.

Even in the late 1970s, however, long before Seymour Hersh's blistering exposé, *The Price of Power*, it was already evident that there was a very dark side to Kissinger's diplomacy. Simultaneously cynical and insecure, Kissinger frequently drove his staffers past the point of endurance and felt little compensation about taking credit for their work. In the magnificent ambience of the Nixon White House, Kissinger was a recluse, effective in flight—especially in undercutting any policy role for Nixon's first secretary of state, William Rogers.

As part of the White House "plunderer" attempt to stay unbothered leaks to the press, Kissinger authorized wiretaps on his key aides. In his own words, Kissinger portrayed himself as selected friendly journalists as a "moderate" among White House leaks, as Vietnam. Subsequent revelations,

however, showed him to be an eager architect of the ultimately disastrous decision to invade Cambodia in 1970. He was also a fervent advocate of punitive B-52 raids on Hanoi in 1972 and on Cambodia in 1970 after the Khmer Rouge seizure of the U.S. merchant ship *Mayaguez*. Even some of Kissinger's



most highly publicized triumphs concealed lingering damage for the United States. The dyke system breach, argues John Prados, author of *The Secret Battle*, a history of U.S. intelligence on the Soviet Union, "resembles a series of fire bombs. Some have already gone off, but they will be ticking for years."

During the first SALT talks, Kissinger missed what now appears to have been

the only opportunity to halt the mutual deployment of multiple warheads—the very root of current nuclear tensions.

The United States had a substantial lead in the weapons race at the time and the Soviets were eager to come to terms. But Kissinger approved the operation calculating incorrectly that it would be years before the Soviets caught up. Again, the eventual peace in Vietnam, in retrospect, differed little from North Vietnamese proposals made years earlier—before thousands were killed—but which Kissinger and Nixon repeatedly snuffed. On other fronts, Kissinger's belief in the durability of Portuguese and Rhodesian white rule in southern

Africa was the decline and fall of the Pearson Triumvir.

On a deeper level, Kissinger's policies reflected an obsessive concern with maintaining America's geopolitical clout against the Soviets and a pessimistic assessment of U.S. democracy's capacity to do so. "Democracy," he wrote in 1967, "by the nature of its institutions cannot conduct policy as decisively, change course as readily, or prepare their moves as secretly as dictatorships." His most admired role model, Austria's Prince Klemens Metetrach—the subject of his PhD thesis—operated in a highly authoritarian society and dedicated his career to

as being political support. Registering such support, of course, is the task of the commission Kissinger now heads. With its Democratic members all drawn from the conservative wing of that party, the "bipartisan" group probably is known of little to Reagan's Central American policies—and some expertise on the region. Kissinger's experience with the Hispanic half of the American is essentially limited to overseeing U.S. plans to "destabilize" the Allende government in Chile. "I don't see why a country should be allowed to go Communist through the irresponsibility of its own people," he said shortly after Allende's 1970 election victory.

The Kissinger commission is unlikely to challenge the premises behind Reagan's policy in Central America. As on most issues, Kissinger views the U.S. stake in the region as essentially a matter of the credibility of U.S. power on a world scale. "If we cannot manage Central America," he said earlier this year, "it will be responsible to ourselves threatened turmoil in the Persian Gulf and in other places that we know how to manage global equilibrium." The commission's deliberations may, however, provide undecided congressmen with grounds for voting the military aid Reagan has been sending, at least until the panel's report is presented in December.

But with a stacked membership and a chairman who opposes even elected Marxists in Latin America, the commission is unlikely to bolster White House credibility either at home or abroad. And given the dense cloud of controversy that will swirl around Kissinger, there is a strong possibility that his appointment may actually galvanize dissent. "Kissinger has few rivals in diplomatic experience or expertise," concedes Connecticut Democratic Senator Christopher Dodd, one of the more vocal opponents of the administration's Central American venture. "But that experience has made him a symbol for a foreign policy many would rather forget than repeat." ☐

Super K's: reticence, reflection and durability

After he left the United States unprepared to respond to the collapse of colonialist regimes there, his "talk" toward Pakistan in its 1971 war with India needlessly alienated New Delhi, and the Kissinger era's decision to grant the late Shah of Iran virtually unlimited access to U.S. arms in retrospect stands as a

monument that states quo. Kissinger clearly viewed Congress and the press as intruders in the geopolitical game. "I am sympathetic to the covert operation against Nicaragua," Kissinger told an overseaser earlier this year, "if we can conduct them the way they name implies. But if covert operations have to be justified in a public debate, they stop being covert and we wind



SPECIAL REPORT

The gathering clouds of war

By Val Hoar

For the troubled outflow of Central America, and for Washington, the week furnished a showdown. Shooting broke out between patrol boats of U.S.-backed Honduran and leftist Nicaraguan. Two U.S. frigates showed up, waters of Nicaragua's Pacific coast in a crude but eloquent threat of a potential U.S. blockade. Even the Israelis entered the fray, agreeing to help arms captured from the left to anti-Sandinista counter-revolutionaries (continues) waging a bank war on Nicaragua from the Honduran border.

The only sign of hope was the emergence of three separate but similar peace proposals—one from Washington's ally in Central America—Honduras, Guatemala, El Salvador and Costa Rica, a second from the so-called Centadora group of neighboring Latin countries (Mexico, Venezuela, Colombia and Panama), and the third from the Nicaraguan junta itself. But the jury was still out on whether or not another development would prove productive. The White House established a bipartisan commission under former U.S. secretary of state Henry Kissinger to review Washington's Central American

policies, but there was widespread skepticism over both the commission's leadership and its real chance of success (page 16).

As the tension rose, it was hardly surprising that the Centadora group described its own peace-making proposals as "a last-ditch effort." But while President Ronald Reagan's administration professed to welcome the group's call for the demilitarization of Central America—a demand echoed in the other two peace plans—the White House enthusiastically dispatched an eight-warship task force to Nicaragua's Pacific coast and announced plans for massive war games on its Caribbean flank next month in a classified document "leaked" to the U.S. press. Reagan's National Security Council (NSC) also warned that, unless the administration won its bid for a 40-per-cent increase in military aid to the volatile region, U.S. troops might be sent there.

Speaking last week to a Hollywood, Fla., audience of filmmakers, Reagan defended his campaign against the Sandinistas by linking them to the Salvadoran guerrillas and labeling both conflicts "the first and second Communist aggression on the American mainland." Nicaragua's peace plan, proffered during celebrations marking the fourth an-

niversary of the ouster of U.S.-backed dictator Anastasio Somoza, did not once mention Reagan to modify his firm view of the Nicaragua government. Despite its similarity to the Centadora proposals—Managua also called for regional demilitarization and the withdrawal of foreign soldiers, arms and bases in the region—Reagan said that "it would be extremely difficult" for the United States to reach any negotiated settlement with Nicaragua's present government.

By contrast, the Centadora group's demilitarization proposal appeared to gain support from a surprising cross-section of leaders: Daniel Ortega, co-founder of the ruling Sandinista junta, Cuban Vice-President Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, ex-Secretary General Javier Pizarro de Cudrillo and even, belatedly, the U.S. state department. Washington delayed its reaction for two days as a signal of its displeasure with the group's analysis. The Centadora group had identified ousting U.S. military involvement as the largest threat to what remains of the region's stability. The group also called on French President François Mitterrand, Spanish Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez and Canada's Pierre Trudeau for support. All three countries have dissented from

Ortega (left), Sandinistas celebrating their revolution's fourth anniversary. U.S. advisers in El Salvador: a question of commitment

Washington's hard-line views, and a 16-member French delegation last week arrived in Managua for talks on increased economic and technical co-operation. The Centadora group's intervention was also credited for a surprising reversal of policy by Nicaragua. Ortega announced that Managua would bow to Washington's demand and take part in multilateral peace talks with its neighbors. The White House said that the move was "promising" although it still contained "serious shortcomings." It did not deal with Nicaragua's military buildup, the administration said, recommending that the proposal be referred along with the other peace plans to a forthcoming meeting of nine Latin American nations.

The White House's cautious apprehension reflected Washington's hawkish image problem at home. For more than two years Congress has sought to limit U.S. involvement in Central America, while the White House has asked for ever-increasing amounts of economic and military aid. Last week, for only the fourth time in 153 years, the House of Representatives met in secret session to con-

sider intelligence documents relating to a bill to cut off covert CIA aid to anti-Sandinista forces by Sept. 30. The bill, sponsored by Democratic Representative Edward Boland of Massachusetts and Clement Zablocki of Wisconsin, would provide \$60 million for an overt program to help Nicaragua's neighbors prevent it from supplying arms to El Salvador's left-wing guerrillas. The Reagan administration has been lobbying hard for its concept of "dynamism"—that is, Washington proposed to terminate covert support of the contra if Nicaragua abandoned its alleged arms pipeline from Cuba to El Salvador. But

even after last week's intelligence briefings many congressmen remained unconvinced that the pipeline existed. Instead, they expected, the administration's two-year-old covert action program is aimed at overthrowing the Sandinista government. Under the 1982 Boland amendment, that would represent an illegal use of funds.

Opponents of the covert action program noted that the contra themselves—Reagan refers to them as "freedom fighters"—have openly professed their intention to join the Sandinistas. They also dismiss suggestions that Managua is supplying arms to El Salvador's guerrillas. Senator David Durenberger (R-Minn.), who claimed that the covert action program has so far failed to turn up a single unlogged weapon, said: "They can't show you what they are interdicting because the Nicaraguans are not stopping anything."

At the same time, however, Congress has been alarmed by reports of the contra's growing strength. From a 600-man operation at the beginning of the Reagan administration, the covert operation in Honduras' mountainous jungle overlooking Nicara-



has reportedly mustered 12,000 Guatemalan and equipped troops. Most are recruited from former Guatemalan Gen. Romeo's National Guard. Intelligence sources say the CIA plans to boost the central strength to 15,000 and a major new thrust is expected this month. Rep. Don Edwards (D-Calif.), who has just returned from the region, predicts "a big war."

The administration's military aid proposals for El Salvador are also meeting congressional opposition. A joint House and Senate select committee agreed last week to limit additional military aid to El Salvador this year to \$25 million, less than half the \$60 million that the Reagan administration requested. Opponents of the president's request said that the amount approved was sufficient to keep the San Salvador regime alive and to avoid administration charges that Central American is being handed to the Communists.

The White House is expected to increase its demands in the future, as the leaked NSC report indicated that Congress will continue to be opposed at any level request to improve the situation in the San Salvador regime's inhumane military performance and poor human rights record. Political violence, in fact, is up since the increase. According to figures compiled by the U.S. Embassy in San Salvador, 1,694 civilians were murdered by government security forces in the first half of 1982 compared to 962 in the last half of 1981. Secretary of State George Shultz observed last week, in noting congressional reauthorization for El Salvador under the military aid program, that the country's human rights record "falls short of the best and sustained progress" expected. But the Reagan administration claims that the increase in violence is too small to justify withholding funds. Washington also notes that there has been progress in land reform and an amnesty program that so far has released some 500 political prisoners.

But Congress is most concerned by the prospect that U.S. troops may be drawn directly into the Central American fighting—a fear which the new administration dismisses as Central American policy may not be able to quell. As Rep. Barbara Stouffer (D-Calif.) put it, "Not only are we hearing the echoes of Vietnam, we are seeing the ghosts return to the scene—with Kissinger, the

architect of the secret bombing of Cambodia, leading the way."

The issue about a possible drift of U.S. policy toward direct involvement is shared even by elements of the U.S. defense establishment. Last month Gen. Edward Meyer, the army's retiring chief of staff, publicly opposed sending U.S. troops to Central America. "It would be wrong," he told reporters, "to have soldiers at the end of the string without the support of the American people."

The Pentagon lends credence to mili-

ties of the Salvadoran flag. It is apparently the work of volunteer junior officers, like those who launched the 1979 coup that toppled the government of Gen. Carlos Hernandez Romero.

Despite the Pentagon's misgivings, 5,000 U.S. troops next month will participate in regional military exercises and advise Hondurans. The war games will be twice as big as last summer's Operation Blue Power, which included flights by U.S. helicopters carrying Hondurans from close to the volatile Nicaraguan border. Down Borge, the newly military leader of the Sandinista junta, claims that seven thousands of the Honduran army and a battalion of U.S. forces have already taken up positions alongside about 7,000 contra troops. The Nicaraguan army increased last week dispatched a further 5,000 men to the Honduran frontier to meet what Nicaraguan officials said was the threat of a new invasion by contras. The reinforcements brought the total Nicaraguan forces in the area to more than 10,000.

Lacking popular support, the contra pose no real threat to the survival of Nicaragua's Sandinistas—a lightning raid into the central Nicaraguan province of Managua last week was the first major engagement in a month. But there is a very real danger that if appearing such incursions, Nicaraguan troops could eventually be drawn into combat with Hondurans or even U.S. forces. With 50 battalions of Sandinista reservists heading into the region and the country's 45,000-strong militia on alert, the risk increases each day.

For Nicaragua, a country with a population of 3.8 million, the toll of the CIA-backed border incursions has been grim. While Managua claims that 1,200 contras have been killed, it admits that 980 Nicaraguans have also died so far this year, including 250 soldiers. Moreover, the fighting has caused more than \$250 million worth of damage to the struggling agricultural nation's infrastructure. Nicaragua is still reaping the ravages of last winter's drought and the floods that followed. In addition, last May Washington started imports of Nicaraguan sugar, the country's third-largest export, from 50,000 to 400,000 tons. It also raised Nicaragua's application for a \$25-million loan from the Inter-American Development Bank. Managua's economy has shrunk 4.7 per cent and its foreign debt has tripled since



Nicaraguans watching a village "take before the storm"

tary doubts about the White House policies. In a report last month the Pentagon acknowledged that U.S. military aid is having a negligible impact in El Salvador. The report described the Salvadoran Army as demoralized by heavy losses. Only 15 per cent of the U.S.-trained military re-enlist after their two-year term of duty. The report also cited an open letter circulating in Salvadoran army barracks that criticized the conduct of the civil war. It is the third such letter in nine months to call for negotiations with the rebels and to oppose Washington's increasing role in El Salvador. The letter was signed by The Blue and White Movement (the col-

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the 1973 revolution. Stigles are rumored, and doctors routinely write out prescriptions for half a dozen smaller drugs in the hope that one may be found on ill-stocked pharmacy shelves.

Last week Reagan said that he assumed the military and economic agencies on the Sanfelicita government caused Managua's startling shift on regional peace negotiations. But critics of Reagan's policies pointed out that the Sandinistas had been moving for some time to meet criticism when they felt vulnerable. For example, an electoral commission has been laboring for months to prepare for national elections that were first promised for 1982.

At his press conferences last week, Reagan stressed Managua's breaking original promises on providing "all the freedoms that we enjoy in this country." However, that charge was rebutted later by the Organization of American States, to whom Reagan alleged the promises had been given. At the same time, the prospect of elections has receded in U.S.-backed El Salvador. Last week the government announced that the new constitution would be promulgated on Sept. 15—six months later than scheduled—making it almost impossible to hold elections in December as planned. From the ultra-right wing, Maj. Roberto d'Aubusson said that the delay was a victory because in El Salvador's civilly polarizing political situation this runs against d'Aubusson's chief foe, the leftist Christian Democrats. On the military front in the country's four-year-old civil war, however, U.S. troops have received most of the provisions of San Vicente and Morazan in the past month. That success has been tempered by the knowledge that the guerrillas usually melt away before an army assault, only to reappear later. And at week's end they did just that, blowing up power lines and blocking out large areas of the country. As entering U.S. Ambassador Duane Clinton declared before leaving San Salvador last week, "Right now the army has it all the way, and that doesn't mean they won it. But the guerrillas had it all their way 3½ all seasons—and cooperation is a problem."

This week, as Congress considers the appropriateness vote, justification of who is responsible for the delay may well be empowered. If the proponents of covert action manage another victory in face of the mounting criticism, the recent difficult weeks may merely be, in the words of Sandinista leader Borge, "the calm before the storm."

With First夫人 in San Salvador, William Greider in Mexico City and Bruce Porter in Washington.



Social security commission chairman Greenpeace: device for ending stalemate

Government by commission

First it was the bipartisan commission on social security, headed by economist Alan Greenspan. Then it was the special commission on the tax deficit, chaired by former national security council adviser Brent Scowcroft. Last week, in what may become the most controversial commission of them all, President Ronald Reagan announced the formation of yet another blue-ribbon panel—this time on Central America...to be led by former secretary of state Henry Kissinger. Increasingly, it seems, vital questions of U.S. social and foreign policy are being resolved not by the traditional arbiters, the White House and Congress, but by ad hoc boards of distinguished Americans outside government.

Implicit in this arrangement is a disturbing trend: the breakdown of the normal system of policymaking. As *The Wall Street Journal* noted editorially last week: "All the bipartisan ribbons and blue-ribbon commissions...the fact that is more critically important: areas of policy...the traditional framework has just about ceased to function."

In the old days critical foreign policy decisions were almost automatically bipartisan. Congress gave the president wide latitude to pursue the national interest as he saw fit. In the present climate, Congress has claimed a larger role in foreign affairs. This drift has coincided with a steady weakening of its advisory system in which the bipartisan-sounding commission has functioned as an elite policymaking "backstage" club. Congressional committees

have gained in strength and with it have become increasingly rambunctious. The result is that a relatively small number of congressmen can create a legislative roadblock.

Enter the bipartisan commission. The device has much to recommend it. The appointees, typically, are experts in their field, although Kissinger's Latin American credentials have been questioned—several members named in his panel are familiar with the region's problems. Commissioners do confer to partisan legislation, but are supposed to have no partisan axe to grind on the issues they face. While neither Congress nor the president is bound by their recommendations, there is an assumption that the verdict represents the best course for the nation.

Still, many politicians are troubled by the trend. Senate minority leader Robert Byrd is uneasy that the reports of commissions "may pretty well lock us into whatever decisions are reached." In a sense, government by commission represents a certain democratic machine of the voters. As the *Journal* bitingly observed: "If the Founding Fathers had envisioned that our most serious political differences should be the province of elitist appointees instead of elected politicians, they would have given us a mandarin oligarchy instead of Congress." But for now, the commission is a handy mechanism for ending a stalemate that otherwise could have grave consequences for present and America's strategic interests.

—MICHAEL POSNER in Washington.

The dispute over Israel's withdrawal

The call from Jerusalem lasted only five minutes. The conversation was cordial, but the message was plain: Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin was canceling his long-awaited visit to Washington for personal reasons. President Ronald Reagan accepted that decision, and the White House subsequently announced that the visit would be rescheduled. But in Israel and in Washington, the rescheduling fueled speculation that Begin—70 years old on July 21—might be about to resign.

That rumor, coupled with the Israeli cabinet's decision to begin a partial pullback of its forces in Lebanon and renewed Israeli-Lebanese fighting in and around Beirut, seemed to leave peace prospects in the Middle East uncertain these days. Begin's health has been a subject of concern for months. He has been deeply depressed over the death of his wife, Alta, last November, which also caused him to cancel a scheduled meeting at the White House. The death of more than 800 Israeli soldiers in Lebanon, and the wounding of some 2,000 more, have added to his emotional strain. However, Begin has never fully recovered from a broken hip suffered during a fall in his home nearly two years ago. And Israel's bitter internal debate over the merits of the Lebanese war has added to his despondency. Begin's public appearances have been few. His speech at the Knesset, however, have been short and without their customary intensity. Some Israeli newspapers have begun to speculate openly about a possible caretaker prime minister to lead the Likud coalition once elections due in the summer of 1983. Most observers predict that foreign minister Yitzhak Mordechai would assume power in the interim.

Still, Begin has rebounded from previous bouts of depression. Indeed, so far he hasn't spoken about his own health, but one source noted pointedly, "For a man like him, the Knesset cafeteria is a rare appearance—and seemed remarkably cheerful. He also was overheard asking another cabinet minister 'Well, how do I look? Alive or dead?'" Moreover, Begin had issued political promises for postponing his U.S. visit. If he made the trip before the cabinet decided to order a troop pullback, the Reagan administration would almost certainly have opposed the move, which could lead to de facto partitioning of Lebanon. If the trip had been made af-



Menachem Begin in Washington: disappointed, not surprised

The pullback of Israeli forces in Lebanon disappointed both Washington and Beirut. But surprised neither. In these previous positions, Israeli soldiers were caught between increasingly hostile Beirut and Christian militias and sun-seekers in southern Lebanon. The partial retreat will likely take the Israelis to a line along the Awali River, just north of Sidon. Deployment there will not end Israel's problems in southern Lebanon, but it will shorten supply lines and require fewer reserves.

But if withdrawal across Jerusalem's domestic and military purposes, it is not either Beirut nor Washington. Israel's "wanted" positions must be filled either by the Lebanese army, which few analysts regard as capable of policing the area, or by an expanded multinational force. Reagan is willing to send more U.S. Marines to Lebanon, but the administration is divided on the wisdom of such a move—in is Congress. New attacks on Beirut airport last week, which wounded three American soldiers, did little to ease those concerns.

The rockets and shells fired at the airport and surrounding areas by Syrian-backed militia forces killed at least 17 people and injured 60. Washington analysts viewed the violence as evidence of mounting Syrian pressure on the government of Lebanese President Amal Gemayel.

The yesterday-looking 41-year-old Gemayel is spent five days in Washington last week. He held extensive talks with Reagan, Secretary of State George Shultz and other senior officials. Addressing reporters during a brief photo session before his Gulf City meeting, Gemayel said, "I don't worry. Everything will be okay some day."

The grounds for such optimism appear shaky. Druse leader Walid Jumblatt explained Gemayel's absence by announcing the formation of a National Salvation Council. "I don't know," he said, "what would make Gemayel go down. Salimans Farajalla and others

for the decision, however, Washington might have again tried to force Begin to limit Israel's West Bank settlements, which the U.S. views as a major hindrance to the peace process. On balance, with Israel-U.S. relations much tighter than they were a year ago, there was little for Begin to gain in his talks with Reagan. Washington insiders had no official comment on rumors of Begin's cancellation, but one source noted pointedly, "For a man like him, the Knesset cafeteria is a rare

prime minister Roshid Karani, will oppose the Generali government. With Syria refusing to withdraw its 40,000-man army from eastern and northern Lebanon and with Syria-controlled Palestinian Liberation Organization forces massed around Tripoli, the Israeli pullback will divide the country into several spheres of influence—the smallest belonging to the Lebanese themselves. Damascus' refusal to withdraw is officially based on the agreed principle signed by Lebanon and Israel in May, which would end the state of war between the two countries. According to Syrian President Hafez al-Assad, the agreement is an infringement of Lebanese sovereignty because it makes too many concessions to Israel—and has no regard for the rest of the land.

The Reagan administration, as well as the Generali government, refuse to accept Assad's reasoning. They contend that the Syrian leader is playing a clever diplomatic game, content to wait and be wooed with new concessions to secure for Syrian withdrawal. In the meantime, he has taken effective leadership of the largest PLO faction, Pithah, and, as a result, he controls the reins of PLO Chairman Yassir Arafat. He has also set up, with Soviet support, the six forces dominated by the Israelis during the Lebanese war.

Some observers believe that Assad will respond to U.S. overtures, but others are convinced that he cannot be successfully courted. Officially, Syria does not want to be drawn into the Syrian Sprit, regarding it as part of "greater Syria." The two countries do not exchange ambassadors. And, while Assad has twice resigned Shultz, he consistently declined to see Reagan's retiring Middle East ambassador, Philip Habib. Last week, after 25 frustrating months on the job, Habib resigned. His successor, deputy national security adviser Robert McFarlane, 44, plans to visit the region early next month.

Heading forward to Germany, Reagan said that their discussions focused on the next steps to be taken to secure full Lebanese sovereignty. Presumably what steps those might be is not clear. Other Arab governments, notably Saudi Arabia, have been unable or unwilling to provide the material and moral backing the will to physically drive the Syrians back in, while Washington maintains that the peace process will go forward, it seems evident that it has come to a standstill. No major U.S. initiative is likely to be undertaken during a presidential year. As the year unfolds, more aggressive moves are not likely to be taken before 1985. Only the boldest forecasters would dare to predict what might happen in the interim.

—MICHAEL POSNER in Washington, with correspondents' files

ITALY

Craxi takes his turn at the helm

Oblivious to Rome's swirling summer heat, Italian Socialist leader Bettino Craxi emerged last week from the presidential palace wearing a dark suit and a broad grin. He had good reason to appear pleased. Only moments before, Italy's octogenarian president, Sandro Pertini, asked Craxi to try to form a government. The announcement came as no surprise. Five days last month's general elections, which saw the party for the traditionally dominant Christian Democrats plunge to an all-time low, speculated has been little that the ambitious Craxi would be asked to lead Italy's first-ever Socialist government.

For the politician, it was the realization of a long-cherished political dream. The Christian Democrats, who have held the prime minister's office in all but one of the 41 previous postwar administrations, are unlikely to see Craxi's way. Their 4-point-point program, which saw the Socialist support the party's leadership for a year.

However, Craxi is likely to face tough bargaining with Republican party leader Giovanni Spadolini, who gained popular support during a 15-month effort as prime minister which ended last June. Pertini is said to have offered the prime minister's post to Craxi rather than Spadolini because Socialist participation is essential to the formation of a successful coalition. But Spadolini will certainly lay claim to the Socialist election posts for the Republicans.

Still, Craxi has a chance of building a workable coalition with the Socialists in partnership with the Christian Democrats, the Republicans and two tiny parties, the Socialist Republicans and the Left. Washington, however, has offered the prime minister's post to Craxi rather than Spadolini because Socialist participation is essential to the formation of a successful coalition. But Spadolini will certainly lay claim to the Socialist election posts for the Republicans.

Temperatures have been tried not only by the angry public rhetoric but by internal Socialist maneuvering and the heated atmosphere of the period when the government was formed. Last week, while Craxi may attain his dream of becoming prime minister, the pitfalls of Italian politics could, in the end, transform that dream into a nightmare.

—RAN GILBERT in Rome



Kondrashev (center), Soviet negotiator, a long-awaited human rights accord in Madrid

SPAIN

A painful journey for East and West

After nearly three years of stony meetings and millions of anti-communist words, the 25 nations represented at the Madrid conference on East-West relations last week prepared to sign a long-awaited series of human rights and European security agreements, which follows the Helsinki accords of 1975. Yet, while the stated purpose of the conference was to ease tensions, the days of détente are long past and East-West exchanges have frequently been bitter.

Last week was no exception. U.S. negotiator Max Kampelman, fresh from Washington, announced President Ronald Reagan's agreement to the final document, then lashed out once more at the Soviet Union. Repetition there, Kampelman charged, "was greater than at any time since the Helsinki accords were signed." Soviet delegate Sergei Kondrashev interrupted Kampelman, angrily describing his speech as "the most noteworthy ever heard in Madrid."

Temperatures have been tried not only by the angry public rhetoric but by internal Socialist maneuvering and the heated atmosphere of the period when the government was formed. Last week, while Craxi may attain his dream of becoming prime minister, the pitfalls of Italian politics could, in the end, transform that dream into a nightmare.

was strengthened generations from the Soviets for recognition of religious freedoms, independent trade unions and basic human rights. In return, the West dropped its demand for an end to the Eastern practice of jamming radio signals. Likewise, it agreed to a Soviet demand for a disarmament conference scheduled for next January in Stockholm. The conference, which has been a long-standing Soviet aim, would attempt to reduce the possibility of a surprise attack by either Warsaw Pact or NATO forces by instituting confidence-building measures, such as each side giving the other advance notice of military maneuvers.

The final document includes provisions for follow-up conferences to promote human rights progress at regular intervals, in October in 1985, and in Bonn and Vienna in 1986. But whether the Madrid accord will restore the spirit of East-West détente is a matter of opinion. "It depends on what you think détente is," said Robert McFarlane, Reagan's spokesman. He said that at least 1,000 Soviet dissidents have been arrested in the past four years, while another 10,000 political and religious dissidents crowd Soviet prison camps. Polish President, who sought refuge in the U.S. Embassy in Moscow, were allowed last week to leave the Soviet Union for Israel. But the crackdown on Soviet groups set up to monitor the Helsinki accords has been so severe that the Moscow chapter was forced to disband last September. Because of U.S. pressure, the provision for the thirty of monitoring groups is contained in the text of the document in the Madrid draft declaration.

Still, any form of East-West agreement is a pleasant surprise, and the Madrid process may have a side benefit. Back in the Soviet Union, the signing of the Helsinki accords was seen as a sign of weakness by the Soviet leadership. It was seen as a sign of weakness by the Soviet leadership. It was seen as a sign of weakness by the Soviet leadership.

will participate in the signing ceremony, and there are hopes of a face-to-face meeting between the two men that is, more, could open the way to a badly needed thaw in the cold war. A meeting of the two men that is, more, could open the way to a badly needed thaw in the cold war. A meeting of the two men that is, more, could open the way to a badly needed thaw in the cold war.

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POLAND

A cautious end to military rule

The election in Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski's name was anathema to him but uncontested. Martial law, the general told Poland's Sejm (parliament) last week, had been ordered by day one. Jaruzelski added, "I am returning to Poland." He was referring to the long-awaited lifting of 18 months of military rule, which took effect last Friday, Poland's national day. His remarks were greeted with waves of applause in the parliament. But outside there was evidence of a different mood. Many Poles suspect that life under civilian rule will vary little from the crushing days of martial law.

In the two-day debate that preceded the formal lifting of military rule, the Sejm approved a package of laws and constitutional amendments that are only modestly better on civil rights. Some of the measures are permanent, such as the government's power to declare a state of emergency at any time. Others, such as restrictions on police and constitutional amendments that are only modestly better on civil rights. Some of the measures are permanent, such as the government's power to declare a state of emergency at any time. Others, such as restrictions on police and constitutional amendments that are only modestly better on civil rights.

The task now facing Jaruzelski's civilian government is to win the confidence of both Poles and the rest of the world. Warsaw hopes that the return to civilian rule will prompt the West to ease economic sanctions imposed after martial law was declared. But the United States, for one, reacted cautiously last week. Specifically, there are doubts about the extent of a proposed amnesty for imprisoned Solidarity members and about the future of free trade unions in Poland. The government maintains its faith in the unions it set up last January to replace Solidarity, though they have attracted only a fraction of workers committed to Solidarity.

It therefore remains to be seen whether Poles will accept Jaruzelski's statement last week that there will be no return to the heady days when Solidarity openly challenged the validity of the December 1981 laws that struck down Solidarity. Poland under its new civil code is little different from its old under martial law to embark on another period of struggle or accept the rigid stability offered by Jaruzelski.

—PETER LEWIS in Brussels



Kampelman encourages

Kohl confronts the doves

For West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl and leaders of his Christian Democratic Union (CDU), a propaganda battle with doves now is clearly preferable to a war with demonstrators in the streets later. Faced with the ominous prospect of unprecedented civil unrest in the fall over NATO's deployment of Pershing II and cruise missiles, the leading faction in West Germany's coalition government last week revealed a strategy aimed at contacting the public that the new

move in three giant rallies in Bonn, Hamburg and Stuttgart on Oct. 28. More than one million West Germans are expected to participate, about twice last year's figure. The content is one of the topics being discussed at two high-level NATO meetings in Brussels this week. West German authorities are clearly concerned that the use of the weapons and their withdrawal will result in the worst battles between police and demonstrators ever seen in the federal republic.

perme. Zimmermann, a Bavarian politician, has rapidly gained a reputation as a fierce champion of law and order. So far, however, his proposal has only staked the first of controversy. Critics of the bill have stated that it will deprive West Germans of their constitutional right to demonstrate. Gerd Pfister, president of the Federal Council, said that the bill would enable "a dozen troublemakers to rob thousands of peaceful demonstrators of their rights." And the chief of the police union, Günter Schröder, declared that the law could be referred down the magnitude of the upcoming protests. "Suddenly," he said, "we start arresting staffers to hold all the persons qualifying as offenders."



Antinuclear demonstrators at Krefeld, the hawks could lose the battle in a bloody confrontation over new missile deployment

weapons are necessary for peace. For starters, the CDU has adopted as its symbol a white dove with the blue emblem of the peace movement. The party also will print one million posters bearing the slogan, "All together for peace and freedom." Then, armed with the posters, the CDU's 700,000 members will conduct a massive door-to-door campaign, in the words of party spokesman Walter Bruckmann, "to tell Germans the truth as we see it."

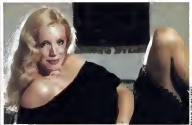
But the hawks could lose the battle in a potentially bloody confrontation over new deployment. A recent poll in the weekly magazine *Der Spiegel* revealed that 61 per cent of West Germans want to postpone deployment beyond the December target date. As well, the poll found that only 21 per cent believe that new weapons will guarantee peace. A series of national protests will culmi-

nate. Zimmermann replied that people who disobey police calls to leave a demonstration "are not normal citizens." The Kohl government had hoped to push the bill through parliament in time for the October demonstrations. But the parliament's agenda is already clogged with other pressing matters, including a full debate on deployment which will consider the Opponent Social Democratic's assurance that introduction of the new missiles is unconstitutional. Consequently, the anti-riot measure is unlikely to pass until early next year, well after the first wave of protests. Still, the threat of a crackdown will certainly fuel anger in the autumn struggle over nuclear weapons. In West Germany's current turbulent atmosphere, there seems to be little chance that the doves of peace will fly with ease. —PETER LEWIS in Brussels

PEOPLE

Loraine Shannon Tweed and palatable-appearing Playboy Bazaar Inc. have come to a parting of the ways. For the past year the 36-year-old Newfoundland native cohosted the sex-on-Playboy-on-the-Sex-with-Peter Tomarken. But when she sought a way for equal work on her contract talks she discovered that "in the entertainment business there is no equal." "It doesn't work that way," she says, but her ex-husband says it is "not a big job loss I'm still eating." And eating very well, so does Tweed, who also appeared in 21 episodes of *Police Quest*, will star in two films to be released this fall—*Hot Dog* and *Out of Order*—and has landed guest spots on TV's *Fantasy Island* and various game shows. Asked whether her Playboy exposure has given her any extra advantages, Tweed replied "£100,000 each. And it probably would have taken a lot longer without it." Tweed, who remains close friends with Playboy magazine Hugh Hefner, 57, denies that her rejection from the show was connected to her personal life as, for that matter, Hef's romance with another Canadian, Carole Lee Cosman, 33, the newest resident at the Playboy mansion. "Absolutely not," said Tweed. "Hef didn't even know I was going on. He didn't know I even had a contract. Who needs to talk about that when you go home?"

During a brief visit home last week, actor hero Martin O'Connell, 30, of London, Ont., downplayed the importance of his ordination at the hands of St. Ignace's rectory in his hometown of St. Ignace, Ont. "It wasn't a big deal," he said, of his 15-day detention, a whipping and death sentence. O'Connell could have argued when he was allowed to fly an injured St. Ignace woman to hospital, but he was told to be back by midnight as the door remained locked. He would be killed, he returned. He said his experience, O'Connell declared: "When they [the rebels] kept saying they would kill us, I got frightened. I didn't want to die. I wasn't ready. And then I thought of what has always comforted me. It's not on my own. I belong to my Mother, Christ. And then I had peace." O'Connell, reluctant to be away from his missionary work for eight by Wings Inc., which flies its support to remote parts of eastern Africa, plans to return to Kenya within two weeks.



Canada's ex-Playmate Shannon Tweed, 'on equal' in the entertainment business

Yellowknife, Canada's northernmost capital city, burned with the news that British-born actress Patsy Andrews, 33, was making a brief stopover. But only a handful of royal-guards gathered for a glimpse of the black-clad prince or he stopped off a flight from Edmonton last week. He was en route to Fort Simpson, where he met 16 former classmates from Lakeside College near Peterborough, Ont. The all-male group celebrated a Twin Otter shot plane into Kiklikiluk Lake to begin a two-week wilderness canoe trip down the spectacular South Nahanni River. Andrews was accompanied by RCMP officer John Ellis, who protected the prince during his six months at Lakeside in 1973. Mosquitoes will likely be the main security problem, however, as the prince and his fellow adventurers paddle far from the prying eyes of reporters he has dismissed as "punk-asses or knaves"—perhaps because of their pursuit of girlfriend Kim Stark, 36, who is sleepily attempting to tapdance with the royal family in his absence. But Wings look grim for Kim: "I am not going to get married until I'm 30," the playboy prince told reporters with a laugh.

With a slight pout and a goyish hair, Don Harvey, 38, is a thirty-year-old replacement for blue-eyed Alan Thicke, 38, on TV's daytime variety-talk show, now called *The Don Rickles Show*. Come September, Thicke, Kirkland Lake, Ontario's big wonder, will host *Theatre of the Night* from

L.A.—and challenge Johnny Carson's supremacy in the late-night ratings. Harvey, who gave way to Peter Goren as host of CBC Radio's popular *Morning* radio last year, welcomed the move. When he quit the nine-to-five show, he admitted, "I was exhausted. I got up at 5:30 a.m. Goren is even more conscientious. He's there at 9:30. I'm not really an early-morning fellow." Harvey's show will be a lot brighter than the wit and whimsy that were Thicke's trademark. "I would like to see more Canadian content," said Harvey. "I would like to get serious from people who are comedians, and I'd like to get the light side of people who are engaged in serious pursuits." With *Caroline McLennan*, 38, will occasionally appear on the show, but the fate of Harvey's alter ego, Charlie Chaplin, is less certain. The Perry David, Ont., role prize in mock show already that his creator may be just happy to keep Charlie off his new show.

Harvey, 'not an early-morning fellow'



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of engineering.

A costly foray into the film business

By Susan Riley

Former federal finance minister John Turner, heir apparent to the Liberal party leadership, found himself at the centre of an unexpected storm last week in his role as the former chairman of a film-investment company that appeared in bankruptcy court. While the details are complex and the outcome still uncertain, Turner may ultimately be forced to personally assume a portion of the firm's estimated \$8- to \$10-million debt. For his part, Turner was anxious to contain the damage last week, asserting that "the debt can be managed." He also assured reporters that CFI investment loc. of Toronto was simply a victim of default on the part of a number of investors who had hoped to take advantage of Ottawa's 100-per-cent tax write-off on investment in Canadian film. "If our investors, and particularly our largest investor, had paid us back, we would not be in bankruptcy," Turner told *Maclean's*.

Turner's involvement with CFI began in 1976, when he bought an 18-per-cent interest in the company, which was set up to sell shares—at \$100—in *Cine-dias-monde* films. But, like many other tax-shelter film companies, CFI ran into difficulties. In fact, its total debt has been estimated to be \$2.7 million, although Turner terms that amount "excessive." Then, in May the firm was forced into bankruptcy by a disgruntled creditor. The main problem for Turner is that when he and other directors borrowed from financial institutions to set up CFI, they secured the loans with personal guarantees. Now the directors are engaged in lawsuits which will determine how extensive the damage to their personal finances will be.

A particularly bitter dispute concerns one of CFI's largest debtors, Urbiselle, an Ottawa-based development company owned by William Turner, former chairman of the Canada Mortgage and Corp. In 1977, when Turner was chairman of CFI, his sons were in a "blind trust" managed by Bruce Philip, an accountant with Thorne Biddle in Ottawa. Philip, who at the time

had an 18-per-cent interest in the Turner film company, invested some \$1.8 million of Thorne's money in CFI. Turner says he approved of the idea of investing in films in principle, but he claims that he did not realize how deeply involved Philip was in CFI. When he discovered the extent of Philip's involvement, Turner said, and the company proved to be a money-lost, he refused to continue his payments. CFI tried to sue Thorne for the money, but on July 24, Ontario Supreme Court Judge P.W. Callaghan ordered the film investment company to repay Thorne \$461,000. Callaghan said, in effect, that Thorne had

for his part, Turner says that he was prohibited only from discussing or carrying out real estate deals while chairman of CFI.

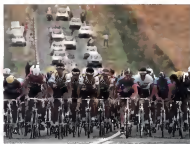
Turner and Thorne might never have been publicly linked in their business venture if a small creditor, Bernard Cowan, had not decided to launch bankruptcy hearings. Cowan, owner of a sports-car company in Toronto, \$700,000 for his investment in an animated television production. He claims that Turner persuaded him and tried to convince him to drop the suit because there was simply no money left in CFI. But Cowan is determined to enforce his investment. Others involved with CFI were not surprised to hear of its financial problems. "The problem was inevitable," says another Bernard Cowan, the owner of a Toronto broadcasting company that was to have been the production wing of CFI. "These guys were only interested in making money, not in making Canadian films."

Turner distances charges that his company financed shoddy films. He argues that CFI was concerned with money management, not production. He says decisions about distribution and the type of films to be produced were left to CFI's directors, Bruce Philip and Ward McKinnis, an Ottawa lawyer. They were exclusive partners in Terrington, CFI's distribution wing. Another CFI director was John Grant, former editor of the now-defunct *Ottawa Journal*, a personal friend of Turner's and currently the federal government's commissioner of privacy. Grant, along with Philip and McKinnis, may lose money because of the collapse of CFI. The extent of the losses which Turner and the other major shareholders will personally incur is dependent on the outcome of the bankruptcy proceedings and the court battle with Thorne.

"This is all profoundly awkward for John Turner," says one Ottawa Liberal source. Whatever his loss, Turner says, he will settle it. Still, the next two years of Turner's appeal could be a try through the court system—may be stressful indeed for the man who many people think wants to be the next Liberal leader. ☐



Turner, a failed investment firm, lawsuits and huge debts



Cyclists on route: France's greatest sports institution may face future problems

Potholes in the tour's path

The Tour de France, an enormously popular sporting event, has traditionally been a promoter's dream. Every July the world-famous bicycle race attracts front-page attention across Europe. An estimated 15 million spectators line its 4,000-km route, and another 100 million people watch daily television coverage. But although the fifth week of the 34-day race, which wound up with the traditional *casse-potage* on the Champs Elysees last Sunday, proved as popular as ever, there may be problems ahead for France's greatest sports institution.

The tour's many attractive assets, but the route is largely an open road, and there is no way to pull in big office receipts. As a result, for many years the tour has relied on the dream of corporate sponsors to turn cyclists into reliable billboards. But Europe's deep recession has cooled some of the advertisers' ardor. Not only that, but increasing competition for advertising dollars from other summer sports poses a serious long-term threat to the financial health behind the race.

Founded as a circulation booster for the sports newspaper *L'Auto* in 1903, the tour quickly proved its worth—boosting the paper's sales from 146 issues to 415 in less than 10 years. From the start, part of the rest of the race was picked up by a publicity caravan—which now numbers about 200 vehicles—bearing out advertising messages in advance of the riders.

But the heritage of the modern tour as the focus of riders who compete in the race as well as a series of other classic races throughout Europe (in-

cluding similar but less extravagant stages of Italy and Spain). The corporate-backed teams generally feature one or two highly paid riders—who attract the same attention in Europe's television stars—and a larger number of lesser-known riders who spend their cycling careers making little money and clearing the path in races for their team objectives. The "local" sponsors, which range from giant multinationals such as Shell Oil to ice-cream makers and home decorating stores, do not pour up any opportunity for promotion. Cyclists' water bottles, gloves and even socks sport logos and trade names.

But that privilege costs them as much as \$1 million a year, and some sponsors are questioning their participation. One such firm is the British bicycle giant in Renault Ltd., subsidiary of the in Grasse, but conglomerate, which first sponsored a professional team in 1974 in order to establish itself in the continental European bicycle market.

The strategy seems to have paid off. The company—long dominant in Britain—now boasts the largest overall market share of any firm on the Continent. Still, Renault, which is reeling from losses totalling \$17.5 million in the past two years, announced in the middle of this year's tour that it was turning over the major sponsorship for its highly successful Netherlands-based team to Peugeot. Peugeot, a sales arm of Japan's massive Matsushita Electric, Raleigh hopes to use the freed-up funds for more traditional forms of advertising in Europe. Explained spokesman Michael Deffieux, "We have to say these are the

Miss Raleigh makes "With other smaller sponsors—especially those based in Belgium— Peugeot's manager, Dennis Deswaen, of the London-based racing magazine *Cycling points* out that Matsushita may soon be joined by other non-European sponsors.

For their part, the two Paris newspapers that now sponsor the race have other ways of underwriting the \$5-million cost, besides the publicity stream and broadcasting fees. One of the main popular sources of funds is to charge towns and cities for playing host to the race as it passes at the end of a day's ride. That, in turn, provides still another avenue for promotion: the towns receive some of their host fees (which can be as much as \$100,000) by selling billboard space that may appear on TV coverage.

But the tour faces problems of its own. Among them is a recent lack of charismatic riders. While the victor of the past five tours, Bernard Hinault, has been a Frenchman, his pragmatic style has not made him a favorite in his homeland. (Klaus Prebil's father has to withdraw before the start of this year's tour, leaving the race largely wide open.) What is more, the now elderly institution seems to be losing some of its appeal among France's young people as events like tennis gain in mainstream popularity. As part of an effort to attract new converts to racing, a small number of amateur teams were allowed to participate for the first time in this year's tour.

Although North America has been largely a wasteland for professional cycling since the 1930s, it may, ironically, provide the tour with some solutions for the future. For his part, Deswaen fears some evidence to long-standing rumors that a portion of a former elite team will be held in the United States. Indeed, last April the Tour de France organizers helped stage the first so-called *Tour of America* (which actually involved only 600 km between Virginia Beach and Washington, D.C.).

While the U.S. advertising market cooperatively small crowds and limited television coverage, its lucrative \$100,000 (U.S.) in prize money helped attract 50 European-based professional riders.

In the meantime, the tour seems to be caught up in its own life. Another popular rumor has it that the loop around France may be extended to a tour of the world. But that, says Deswaen, is not likely. "It's not a matter of time," he says, "for the cycling press to write about in the winter." Instead, the world's most prestigious bicycle race will in all likelihood continue in Europe with an ever-increasing dependence on events sponsorship.

—IAN AUSTIN in Toronto



The Port of Montreal, riven by predatory pricing and cross-border activity

A closely watched investigation

A side of intrigue has developed recently around the pricing activities of several major Canadian shipping lines. Ever since federal customs investigators began raids on the offices of many of the firms serving the North Atlantic in May and June, there has been a widespread perception that charges of predatory pricing will be laid. Although the investigation has been wrapped in secrecy, news sources observers in the U.S. maritime industry complain that Canadian price-cutting is a mystery. They allege that Canadian shipping lines have been upstaging off an alarming portion of the tonnage from ports in New York, Baltimore and Boston by unfair price cuts. For their part, the Canadian firms, some near bankruptcy, dispute these charges as unfounded.

As the first intellies, U.S. industry observers are awaiting the outcome of the Canadian investigation with heightened interest. Their anxiety is increased by the worsening business of the U.S. East Coast ports. And new legislation has been introduced in Congress by the House Merchant Marine Subcommittee to force Canadian shipping lines to abide by U.S. law.

U.S. port authorities angrily refer to the troublemakers as "Canadian deviants." According to retired Rear Admiral Ricardo Ratti, the complainant "is primarily against the port of Montreal and the operations from that port

of Canadian-owned East North American Ltd." The problem, he says, is that East coast U.S. cargo to Europe and does not have to comply with the U.S. Shipping Act of 1916, which requires carriers to publish their tariffs—the freight rates charged—and adhere to them. But because East coast headquarters in Montreal, says Ratti, the company can make separate deals with separate shippers. Now, adds Ratti, "We have a bill before Congress which says, in effect, that when cargo is moved to or from the United States through a Canadian port, that cargo is subject to the 1916 U.S. Shipping Act."

According to Richard A. Lasky Jr., a maritime legal expert with the port of Baltimore, that harbor as well as those at New York and Boston have all suffered over the past four years as cargo from the U.S. Midwest—particularly from cities like Chicago and Akron—has "disastrously shifted" to Montreal. Last year, he claims, almost 50 million tons of cargo was lost from the U.S. East Coast ports and went instead to Montreal. Lasky points out that the U.S. Court of Appeals has ruled that Canadian companies are not bound by U.S. regulations, forcing East to offer "backhandedly attractive" rates to customers in the Midwest, whose most of the traffic originates. Says Lasky: "If you can ship a 40-foot container from Chicago through Baltimore to Antwerp

for about \$900 under the tariff system, East will do it through Montreal for \$600 or less. U.S. companies cannot compete because they are bound by published tariffs."

Pearl Keller, president of East, disputes the accusation. Statisticians from Revenue Canada, he argues, show that U.S. ports have little cause for distress. They reveal that there was a rough balance in 1982 between goods originating in Canada and exiting from U.S. ports as the sea land, and those originating in the United States and shipped from Canadian ports on the other. What is more, says Keller, if East is able to offer attractive rates, it is because of economies gained by shipping bulk as well as container cargo, while competitors concentrate on containers only. As well, he adds, East passes on cost savings gained by its new, fuel-efficient vessels.

The economy over shipping rates is not simply a cross-border dispute. Economies have also been traded among rival Canadian firms for months. Members of the five North Atlantic shipping conferences, eventually legal entities, are alarmed by the low rates offered by the independents, East and Seafair. Customer Ltd. of Montreal. Foes of an all-out pricing war celebrated earlier this year when the companies investigated, in two separate raids, seized documents from most of the companies involved. The remainder of the investigations are not known.

In a separate development last week, Retail Vice-Chairman Kornei Jacob charged that East quoted rates for moving containers across the Atlantic at \$200 below the national rate. Meanwhile, the Royal Bank of Canada is providing East with the financial backing to continue to operate, although its Canadian-owned parent, Eurocanadian Shipholding Ltd. of Switzerland, is in voluntary liquidation.

While the Canadian inquiries continue, the U.S. port and shipping lines are hoping for legislative action in Congress. Still, the bill aimed at stopping Canadian competition from undercutting the stiff pricing procedures forced on U.S. companies is being delayed by another bill which calls for the scrapping of the 1916 act and the lifting of tariff regulations entirely. That bill is not likely to be voted on until late this year. But hearings are due to begin by September into the "Canadian deviant" question. In the meantime, the cross-border controversy is likely to worsen. Devalued Lasky: "Baltimore has suffered severely since New York, Boston and Seattle are barred by Montreal and East are going after U.S. business, they have to operate on the same basis that we do."

—JAMES FLANNERY in Toronto, with William Lindley in Washington.

Unearthing an empire's secrets

During his heyday at the helm of Spain's huge Basconia Retail empire, Jose Maria Ruiz-Mateos installed the virtues of hard work and spiritual devotion to his more than 20,000 employees. Each year the staff at Basconia's 18 banks and 180 subsidiary companies were given time off to observe the feast of Basconia's patron saint, Our Lady of Bernal Hill. But last week the 62-year-old Ruiz-Mateos himself was exposed as a far more materialistic struggle. Earlier this year the government stripped Ruiz-Mateos of his business license, alleging that his companies had engaged in financial irregularities. The astonishing entrepreneur, now in self-imposed exile in

making operations over the past 16 years, now includes a banking group with combined deposits of roughly \$5 billion and an international web of subsidiary companies engaged in activities as diverse as shrimp marketing—a company with the famous Dry Dock shrimp—construction, hotels, department stores and real estate. Administrators have pored over ledgers and balance sheets—some of them found in rooms behind false walls to unravel what they allege is a maze of company corporations, questionable money transfers and overvalued assets. Then, last month Ruiz-Mateos and two of his executives were indicted on charges that included currency smuggling, false bookkeeping and falsifying the social security system.

In London last week a lawyer for Ruiz-Mateos denied that the businessman is involved in a political campaign to overthrow the government of Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez. But, whether these charges are true or not, the fugitive businessman clearly faces formidable problems on the legal front. Spanish investigators have a long list of alleged misdeeds that they want Ruiz-Mateos to defend in court. At the same time, he is fighting in a London court to prevent the Spanish government from seizing control of a West Indian-based wing of his empire's credit controls under 30 bank permits.

In their own defense high court in London, Spanish officials charge that the offshore firm Multivest Inc. and co-owners in Germany or France are undisclosed subsidiaries or are owned by Ruiz-Mateos himself. Whatever its ownership structure may be, the officials contend that the Multivest Holdings Ltd. under the registration scheme

Ruiz-Mateos is refused to face criminal charges

London, currently is underwriting a legal campaign to regain control of his company while refusing to return to Madrid to face a slew of criminal charges. What is more, two Spanish magistrates, Turiso and Sandoz Grifols, last week charged that he is funding right-wing forces in an attempt to overthrow Spain's fledgling Socialist government.

The government took control of Basconia last February to prevent what the administration said was Basconia's imminent collapse. Since then Madrid investigators have attempted to penetrate the secretive operations of the Basconia-owned companies. That empire, which grew out of a humble shop-

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Cleaning up a hygienic hangover

For years critics of North American big business have accused it of lacking a social conscience. But Sterling Drug Ltd. of Aurora, Ont., 40 km north of Toronto, far from, is currently making that charge difficult to sustain. Ever since Sterling introduced its spray disinfectant, Lysol, to Canadian consumers two decades ago, it has been a commercial success. In fact, it sells so well that Sterling would like to lose a few of its satisfied customers—drunkies who do not buy it with domestic hygiene in mind. Now the company is making a new effort to end Lysol's reputation as a skid road cocktail.

According to John Rodgers, executive director of Winnipeg's Wise Street Project, which helps homeless alcoholics, back alleys and river banks are frequently littered with the familiar white-and-gold Lysol cans. "Until the mid-1970s, rubbing alcohol was the beverage of choice among our regulars, but almost overnight they switched to Lysol," he said. "We found that switch hard to figure out, since Lysol has only 67-per-cent alcoholic content, whereas rubbing alcohol is closer to 95 per cent." Rodgers did an informal survey and found surprising results: "The regulars told me Lysol went down easier and gave a carbonated taste like Alka-Seltzer. They also thought it gave them a bigger bang for their buck but admitted it gave them a worse hangover than other beverages."

Sterling Drug has invested thousands of dollars over the past couple of years experimenting with new Lysol formulas that would be less attractive to drunks. Declared Sterling spokeswoman Carol Gillis, "It's much harder than we thought. If you reduce the alcohol content of Lysol, you have to replace it with something so that you don't weaken the bacteria-killing power or general effectiveness." The firm has now come up with two new, less alcoholic formulations and it will test them over the next six months. In the past, the company has considered adding a few minty ingredients to the product, but that idea has been abandoned. Said Gillis: "The trouble is, it already tastes foul, but they still drink it. I don't think taste matters here as you are used to drinking disinfectant."

Still, the search for a solution will continue. "It's an expensive proposition for us with little return, other than the feeling that what we're doing is morally right," Gillis said. "We did not anticipate a social problem when we introduced it." —PETER CHARLTON-GORDON in Winnipeg

BUSINESS WATCH

William Lyon Mulroney lives

By Peter C. Newman

The Trudeau administration is caught in the classic trap of any democratic government: whose standards is it raising itself how to survive in office without the new blood and new ideas usually attracted to incumbent cabinets.

The answer being hammered out in Ottawa this summer is for the Liberals to ride the economic recovery, although to themselves at the same time with the kind of social issues (medicine, for example) that get votes. It's a clever play, designed to isolate Brian Mulroney and Ed Broadbent at either end of the political spectrum, but it won't work.

The trouble is that the Liberals no longer possess the credibility that maintains the unwritten contract between the government and the governed. Their plight is reminiscent of the St. Laurent administration of the late 1940s and the Mackenzie government of the early 1950s when, no matter how hard individual ministers attempted to salvage their power, nothing helped. Public confidence had been exhausted. The jig was up. Provincial governments turned against the central power, a new leader was waiting in the wings.

That is very much the situation today. Seven provinces are led by Tory premiers, and Bill Bennett, with his attempt to re-create the 19th century, qualifies as a fellow traveller. There isn't a single Liberal left in provincial office west of the Lakehead and only three federal ones, and a long legacy from the 85 Liberals who sat in the provincial houses and filed the parliamentary benches in Ottawa in those far-off, pre-Trudeau days. Most important of all, the federal Tories have chosen in Mulroney a reactionary reference determined to spread a large umbrella over the ideological centre of Canadian politics, then pull the priority of the electorate under it with him.

What makes Mulroney so different from any other Tory daring enough to take on his party's leadership in the past is that he has grown up as a Conservative in Quebec. That influence is important because Quebec is the only province in the country without a provincial Conservative party of its own, so that its adherents have no spiritual home except the larger field of the national organization. Mulroney can only think nationally, his political will will turn out to be a domestic influence in the formulation of a policy future for his

party and, essentially, for the country at large.

The problems are falling all over themselves trying to assimilate some recognizable philosophy to the new Tory leader. None of these efforts means very much because Mulroney is nothing less than the reincarnation of Mackenzie King, the man who turned pragmatism into a state religion. What Mulroney believes—and the reason he will be so hard to replace—is that each political party in Canada, like any political party, is not an apparatus for implementing coherent sets of ideas but as an instrument for the accommodation of



Mulroney progresses as state religion

individual, regional and national differences. Just like Mackenzie King, who used the tactic successfully in his seven election victories, Mulroney will use the appeal of his party during the first national campaign at a wide variety of special interest groups—then act as a broker among them in the actual governing process.

It's no accident that both King and Mulroney spent their formative years as rural neophytes. The two share a sort of mind deeply rooted in Canadian political tradition: the impulse to dampen fanaticism of any kind. There is almost gravitational pull toward compromise, conciliation, tolerance and

the tendency to subscribe to the Orwellian-sounding degree of strength through diversity. In the place of ritual, hierarchy and the practice of democracy that has defined Canadian politics for a generation, Mulroney's approach is to avoid being blamed because the protagonist in any situation. His world is not black and white but shaded in a wash of ever-changing grays.

It is, of course, much too early to do anything but speculate on Mulroney's ideas, since he has not yet laid the foundations that will officially turn him into a politician. The main clue to his thinking—and the one first policy stand that differentiated him from most of his rivals in the recent Tory race—is that he refused to support the privatization of public enterprises. He came out nobly for the continuation of an enhanced Canadian Broadcasting Corp., vowed not to dismantle Petro-Canada and did not rule out the slightly heretical option (among Conservatives, anyway) that public enterprises should be used to achieve public policy objectives.

Although both men would be appalled at the comparison, Mulroney's position on this vital issue is roughly comparable to that of Jack Austin, the senior in charge of the Canada Development Investment Corp. who saved the Liberals in British Columbia from becoming an underdog asset. In pioneering the Trudeau government's reconciliation with the private sector, Austin's criterion for judging the extent of government involvement in any new economic venture is something he calls "the social discount factor." It's the equivalent of the "moral discount factor" used by businessmen to measure the value of their investments. Socially, the marketplaces—a way of selecting, among other factors, the real return after the effects of inflation. "When it comes to investment by governments," says Austin, "discounts should be based on a 'moral discount factor,' which implies a lower rate of return because of a longer time frame. But there must be other, accompanying benefits, such as returns to the community at large, rather than an individual investor's group."

Even Mulroney and Mackenzie King would have recognized this sort of mad game and heartily approved. It is precisely such verbal gymnastics that allowed the strange bachelor from Kitchener and the new kid from Blue Corners to move through mass media, without belonging to any but their own.





Soviet whaler and factory ship move a voyage of publicity than of discovery

ENVIRONMENT

Greenpeace in Siberia

By Pat O'Hindorf

For several days it was uncertain whether the latest Greenpeace venture would succeed in turning the world's attention to the illegal killing of whales, or end as an anguished failure. First, Soviet troops arrested six members of the unauthorized environmental group after the campaigners went ashore in Siberia to investigate suspected illegal whaling operations. Then another Greenpeace, attempting to escape with exposed film in a motorized rubber raft, fell into the frigid Bering Sea, only to be rescued and detained by a Soviet helicopter crew. Another member of the group broke his ankle leaping into the upturning raft to retrieve the film. The 12 Greenpeace staff aboard the approximately 150-foot commercial fishing trawler, Rainbow Warrior, then faced challenges from Soviet helicopters and ships under orders to stop them and lead into U.S. waters, docking at the Alaskan port of Nome. At week's end, the Soviets released the six Americans and one Canadian, Ron Peniston, 35, of Vancouver, and Greenpeace proclaimed the venture a winning success. Declared Canadian director Patrick Moore, "We believe that this campaign will help hammer one of the last remaining nails into the coffin of the whaling industry."

Menemville, in Brighton, England, where the Whaling Commission (IWC) was meeting to discuss implementing a moratorium on whaling to begin in 1986, the

Soviet delegate dismissed the Greenpeace action as marauding. But Greenpeace members were able to show delegates the hard-earned film which the organization says is proof that the Soviets are breaking international whaling regulations. Greenpeace maintains that the Soviets are using whale meat not just as food for a local population that has eaten whale for centuries—a use which is permitted under regulations established last year—but as a delicacy, as a food for far-reaching export. The main purpose of the Rainbow Warrior's insertion into the small Siberian coastal town of Loring was to film the suspected illegal activities. "The most spectacular feature of the village was the meat racks open on a hillside," reported the ship's captain, Peter Wilcox, in a radio-telephone interview with Maclean's. "Actually, we are not sure they are meat—but that they are far-bearing animals of some kind."

In fact, the Siberian episode was more a voyage of publicity than discovery. Two years ago a lesser-known group, the British-based Sea Shepherd Conservation Society, had sailed into the same port and discovered essentially the same activity. Still, Moore said that Greenpeace's television was to shame the Soviets by directing public attention to the fact that "beyond any reasonable doubt" they were breaking the whaling conservation regulations. In addition, Greenpeace hoped that their protest would encourage other nations to take swift measures against all four countries that con-

tinued to defy whaling regulations—the U.S.S.R., Japan, Peru and Norway.

For all their criticism of the Soviet whaling activity, the Greenpeaceers acknowledged one ironic element contributing to the success of their stunt—the restraint shown by the Soviet authorities. An idealistic advocate could have become a tragedy, but no one was seriously injured, and no one was held for long in custody. "I have nothing but compliments for the way they contained themselves," noted Wilcox. "They could have opened fire and injured a lot of people and I am very glad that they chose not to." But not surprisingly, the Soviets took some advantage of Greenpeace's predicament, with the official news agency Tass denying the group's "irresponsible actions" and reporting that the protester who jumped into the sea would have drowned if the helicopter crew had not picked him up.

Controversy did not end to Greenpeace, which, since its beginnings in Vancouver 13 years ago, has grown into an international organization with roughly one million supporters. But last week's adventure will be remembered for its daring. The Rainbow Warrior dispatched six of the crew to the beach in three 16-foot Zodiac inflatable rafts with outboard motors. There they photographed the whaling station and the far farm, and pressed inside into the hands of the few sleepy, unemployed workers.

Ten minutes after the landing, however, a Soviet military truck appeared and soldiers quickly grabbed the six Greenpeaceers, along with their film, cameras and other possessions, another group of soldiers headed out to the Rainbow Warrior by helicopter, and "we started screaming out from above," Wilcox recounted. "About an hour later we met the first naval ship." Crew member Jim Henry jumped into a Zodiac with four rolls of 16-mm movie film, which had been shot from within



250 feet of the beach, and he and the Rainbow Warrior took off in different directions. But after nearly an hour's pursuit, "with a Soviet helicopter hovering five or 30 feet over his head," according to Wilcox, Henry fell into the water, sending the Zodiac off on its own with the film. As the Rainbow Warrior maneuvered alongside the unmanned raft, crewman Bruce Abraham jumped in to retrieve the film, and broke his left ankle.

During the chase, the Soviets shot three across the bow of the Rainbow Warrior and issued orders to stop over the radio. But the crew kept ahead, followed, according to Wilcox, by "three or four helicopters, two Soviet warships, one or two speedboats and a merchant vessel." Fifteen hours later the Greenpeace ship steamed into Nome. Later, Wilcox said, "it may seem very

well-advised; quite each year on the whale species still allowed for commercial whaling. For all that, the four dissenting whaling nations have, in effect, continued business as usual."

But last week, Paul, one of the four, withdrew its objection to the moratorium. And, on the recommendation of Norwegian scientists, the commission ordered Norway to cut its catch of minke whale this year by a hefty 65 percent, to 685 from 1,080. Although minke whales are not considered to be among the most endangered species, that was an important step, said Robert McLean, spokesman for the U.S. delegation. "Over the history of commercial whaling we have seen one species of whale after another driven to the brink of extinction," he explained. Now that there are commercial bans on the endangered larger species such as the humpback

Wilcox acknowledged that the Greenpeace campaign is continuing even though the tide is turning against the whalers. "Whaling is a dying industry, there is no doubt about it," he said. But Wilcox shares the concern of many environmentalists that there is still a dangerous number of the mammals being killed. Says Ronn Price of the World Wildlife Fund of Canada, "The great whales may not outlast the industry. Whaling may in fact die only with the extinction of the great whales."

The extent to which Greenpeace's tactic, often scorned as propaganda, influences the private deliberations of bodies such as the IWC and government departments is difficult to determine. But looking on the "untestable assumption," as Greenpeace's Moore puts it, "that changes in the deepest reaches of mass public consciousness eventu-



ally and faithfully, some of the things we do, but I think it indicates that we really are committed to the cause we are involved with."

Greenpeace also staged two other whaling protests last week. In Seattle, a group of 13 demonstrators tried, unsuccessfully, to block a Japanese freighter carrying fish products from entering the harbor, and at Le Havre, France, four Greenpeaceers chained themselves to a Soviet passenger ship. The protests coincided with the Brighton conference of the IWC, an organization which was established by international treaty in 1946 to keep track of whale populations and set guidelines for the whaling industry. Last year, by a vote of 55 to 1, it passed a resolution to place a moratorium on all commercial whaling, to begin in 1986. Until then, the commission

Many attempting to flee with exposed film: "They seem silly and foolhardy"

and blue whales, whales are turning to the smaller species of whales (Cetacea), which has done so whaling since 1972, withdrew from the commission in 1981. The United States has also stopped whaling, but it continues to play an active role in IWC affairs.

The target of last week's most protest, the Soviet Union, is not the largest killer of whales, the numbers vary from year to year but Japan is always at the top of the list. "But we have already gone after the Japanese several times," explained Greenpeace's Moore. "We felt that it would be easier for the Soviets to get whaling than the Japanese, so we wanted to give them this extra push."

Aboard the Rainbow Warrior,

ally affect the decision makers," the organization intends to argue ahead on several fronts as well as intensifying its protests against the dumping of nuclear wastes into the sea and the testing of nuclear weapons, the international ban of dioxin has been decided to have in on three other issues, and run in North America and Europe, the daughter of kangaroos in Australia (which, Moore says, "even more than the Canadian seal hunt") and the preservation of Antarctica. Still, the group will continue its anti-whaling campaign. "It is Greenpeace's aim to see that whaling is stopped," vowed Wilcox. "We want the Russians, the Japanese and the Norwegians to know that we will take very strong actions against any country that defies the 1966 moratorium on commercial whaling." ☐

A new plan for fertility

Last week, when a California medical team announced that two infertile women had become pregnant as a result of a technique called "in vitro" fertilization, they increased the prospects for the successful implantation of women who have had no success with previous "test-tube baby" methods. In vitro, meaning literally "in life," refers to a process by which a female woman is artificially inseminated with the sperm of a prospective father. Doctors remove the resulting embryo from her womb within the first week of pregnancy and transplant it into the womb of another, infertile woman. That woman then carries the child and gives birth to it. Fertility researchers are looking for techniques as a breakthrough for women who either have defective ovaries or are unwilling to undergo the surgery necessary for the more common "in vitro" ("in glass") fertilization process.

In vitro is the latest technique to emerge from the energetic research into infertility that began when the British medical team of Dr. Patrick Steptoe and Robert Edwards announced the birth of Louise Brown, the world's first test-tube baby, in 1978. Since then, researchers around the world have established scores of in vitro fertilization clinics, in which the egg and sperm of a couple who cannot reproduce normally are united in a laboratory dish and surgically implanted in the womb. About 100 in vitro births have been recorded.

Earlier this year, doctors at Monash University in Melbourne, Australia, attracted world attention when they revealed that a woman was pregnant, with a fetus which had been "conceived" in a dish, that was in liquid nitrogen for four months before they implanted it in her womb.

But the in vitro pregnancies reported by a medical team from Harbor General Hospital in Torrance, Calif., appear to have eliminated some of the problems encountered so far. "It is a much less complicated process," said Dr. Jacques Bilezik, head of an in vitro fertilization clinic at Laval University in Quebec, where some of the 58 transplants at that pace as far as results in a pregnancy. "The method can't help but increase the number of people who want children but cannot have them," said Bilezik. "It is a marvelous thing they are doing." —SARAH McRAY in Toronto



Kirkwood bouncing harmlessly and smoothly over curbs

settling to help riders climb steep, rocky hills or break away on flat stretches. Now, as the bikes move into the flats, they are being fitted with another tires to replace the knobby tread designed for mud, dirt and gravel. They look better than 18-speed models, but with their aluminum alloy rims and lightweight frames they weigh less than 30 lb., roughly four pounds more than the brainiacs.

City riders are particularly attracted by the fact that, compared to 18-speed, the bikes are wider and the brake and gear controls, mounted on the straight handlebars, are easier to reach.

The most important thing in the bike's package," said Peter Sloan-Smith, merchandise assistant at Nordic Products Ltd., a company that has been assembling mountain bikes at its factory in Coquitlam, B.C., since the spring. Nordic also has warehouses in Winnipeg and Toronto. Adds Sloan-Smith: "We have not been able to keep them in stock this year." He has ridden his own mountain bike up a 18-km dirt trail to the top of 6,000-foot Mount Garibaldi, 70 km north of Vancouver. "It took me an hour and 25 minutes to go up and 54 minutes to come down," he said.

At the Vancouver store, West Point Cycles, mountain bikes now account for one-third of the shop's business. "We have sold about 150 mountain bikes this year and we do not have anything for less than \$800," said manager Pippin Osborn. "We have found that the cheaper models keep breaking down." Shop customers are even willing to pay as much as \$2,400 for a model handmade by Californian Thomas Hovby, a former racer who designed the original mountain bike in 1979. But as the bikes become more popular, the prices are starting to drop. Nordic, for one, is introducing introducing models in the \$300 to \$750 range. The mountain bikes are coming off the trails as urban cyclists discover that they offer a smoother ride over some of the obstacles of city life.

—MALCOLM CLARKE in Vancouver

RECREATION

Street biking

Few since the cycling boom began in North America in the early 1970s, an army of urban bike riders has been dodging potholes while hunched precariously over the low, long handlebars and slung area of 10-speed machines originally designed for racing. But this summer a growing number of cyclists are riding more easily through city streets on wide-tired, straight-handled models slowly recently developed for mountain and trail riding. In Vancouver, courier Russ Kirkwood, 34, uses around the city delivering messages on an \$800 model, boasting over curbs that would crack a 10-speed's delicate wheel rims. "I can go racing up to the curb at 30 p.m., jump onto the sidewalk and off again without problems," Kirkwood declares. "These bikes are tough, and with the stronger frames I can stop very quickly."

The mountain bike, originally designed for cycling into rugged, mountain wilderness areas, is a hybrid of the 18-speed racer, the 1950s balloon-tired models and dirt-trail motorcycles. The box new bikes have as many as 31 gear

shifts to help riders climb steep, rocky hills or break away on flat stretches. Now, as the bikes move into the flats, they are being fitted with another tires to replace the knobby tread designed for mud, dirt and gravel. They look better than 18-speed models, but with their aluminum alloy rims and lightweight frames they weigh less than 30 lb., roughly four pounds more than the brainiacs.

HEALTH

Building up brittle bones

Osteoporosis is a relentless and sometimes fatal disease of old age. It erodes and weakens bones, producing the painful spinal deformity called dowager's hump, and leaves its victims susceptible to life-threatening fractures. The disease currently afflicts roughly 350,000 Canadians. Although it sometimes occurs among young people and affects some older men, its primary victims are women after menopause.

But a new treatment developed by a research team at the University of Western Ontario in London has successfully arrested the progressive erosion of bones. By alternating doses of phosphorus, an organic compound, and the chemical sodium diphosphonate, Dr. Colin Anderson, head of the two research teams, has so drastically increased the bone mass in five patients involved in the pilot study that he believes they have been cured of the disease. He will present his results to an international meeting on bone disease in San Diego, Idaho, next week.

The disease is, in effect, a breakdown of the natural "remodelling" process by

which the body tears down bones as it simultaneously builds them up again. And it is linked with decreases in the body's production of sex hormones—which explains its rapid onset in women whose ovaries stop producing hormones levels at menopause.

In Anderson's study the patients first orally ingested high doses of phosphorus for three days, to shock the bone-remodelling process into action uniformly throughout the skeleton. Then they took sodium diphosphonate tablets for 15 days, to block the tearing down of old bone. Says Anderson: "The diphosphonate comes in at a time when certain cells are supposed to chew out a section of bone and it paralyzes those cells." The five patients—one man and four women over the age of 70—underwent treatment every three months and averaged an apparent 125 per cent increase in bone mass over periods from 18 months to four years. The women increased their bone mass almost 200 per cent. Before she began the treatment, she was often forced to be down because of back pain. Anderson says she is now able to

spend hours in her garden. The WHO team is one of several groups to study and treat the disease. Valerie Walker, a professor in the department of medicine at the University of British Columbia in Vancouver, works with a derivative of vitamin D to help old people absorb more calcium and phosphorus through their intestinal tracts. Dr. Timothy Murray of the University of Toronto's Bone and Mineral Metabolism Unit has been working with a fluoride therapy which helps form material similar—but not identical—to ordinary bone. Since 1975 Murray's team has treated more than 100 osteoporosis patients, some for a maximum four-year period. About half have responded favorably. But, as Anderson, "published studies reveal that fluoride supplementation is poorly tolerated by 40 per cent of patients" (Murray) indicates that the figure is now down to about 30 per cent. Anderson adds that there have been no side effects with his treatment.

Despite their success, the researchers stress that the treatment requires many years of evaluation before they can contemplate wider use. But Anderson is optimistic: "If you throw three marbles on the floor and they all roll toward the door, something is pulling them. That is how we are looking at it now." —DAVID SILBERT in Toronto



Maria Elena Ramirez: Eight years old. Lives in and out of care not. Too small for family. Poor ventilation. Hard to keep clean.

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IMMIGRATION

An obstacle for foreigners

It is a stubborn, long-playing battle with several high-profile casualties. Immigration Minister Lloyd Axworthy charges that some business and cultural organizations have been overlooking qualified Canadians and are seeking foreign help to fill senior posts. At the same time, companies argue that they select the best people for demanding jobs, and that they do so only after an extensive search both within Canada and abroad. The competing dispute erupted again last week when Axworthy, in a series of controversial decisions, denied permission to three cultural groups to let them fill key posts with foreigners.

The organizations were Winnipeg's Contemporary Danes, the Vancouver

A new immigration policy is emerging which reserves the top jobs for qualified Canadians —if they exist

Open and the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, all of which, the ministry advised, should reserve their search for qualified Canadians. Said Axworthy: "I think there really is a kind of an attitude of mind about many of the boards that it is more fun or convenient to pre-empt to have someone from another country than to have a Canadian. There is almost a form of reverse discrimination taking place."

The minister's dramatic move is part of an across-the-board campaign to ensure that, with unemployment running at 12.5 per cent, Canadians get first choice of almost all jobs. Since May, 1984, immigrant workers have been allowed into Canada only when they have prearranged jobs or vital skills that the country needs. Companies are urged to work with employment and immigration officials from the moment they brood their search beyond Canada's borders. Axworthy last renewed an appointment in 1984, when the Stratford Festival selected Britain's John Dexter as artistic director. The festival finally hired Canadian John Hirsch.

In the latest cases, the Vancouver Opera wanted to hire a Welsh artistic

director, Brian McIlwain, and an English general manager, Valerie Reals, but Axworthy ruled that its search had been inadequate. Winnipeg's Contemporary Danes, that offered the post of artistic director to Bill Evans, an American choreographer who runs his own company in Seattle. Axworthy declined that advertising for the position had been restricted to Canada and that the salary offered to the American was higher than the salary offered to Canadian applicants. He told the company to look again. The Montreal museum had selected Alexander Gaudier, the director of the Taffur Academy of Arts and Sciences in Georgia, as its new director last month. He was hired after a long international recruiting campaign that narrowed the applicants to a short list of three, including two Canadians. But Axworthy's sides, who only learned about the museum's choice from a story in Montreal's Gazette, concluded that there probably were qualified Canadians. As a result, the minister asked the museum to take a second look.

Axworthy sent a similar message to the business community. In approving the appointment of British-born accountant John Macdonald as the new chairman of Dome Petroleum Ltd., he noted that the firm had looked for qualified Canadians and that Macdonald will be working for a lower salary than the Canadians were offered. In a second case, Axworthy decided to approve just a temporary, one-year permit to an American based as a vice-president by Vancouver pulp and paper firm Crown Sella-Ross. The minister was anguished to insist that the firm hire a Canadian. But there was some confusion at week's end over that ruling when the applicant, Wes Stophy, pointed out that he was born in Saskatchewan and has probably retained his Canadian citizenship.

Axworthy's rejection provoked angry reactions. Said Richard Muller, chairman of the board of Winnipeg's Contemporary Danes: "Maybe the minister should apply for this job now, because he is just as qualified for it as the other remaining Canadians." The company looked at 26 applicants—including three Canadians—and then approached nine other Canadians. "An exhaustive search was undertaken," Muller insisted. But to discourage his discrimination, Axworthy declined to write to major labor and business organizations, reminding them to work with his officials from the start of a personnel search. "I have enough problems," the minister declared, "handling unemployment and dealing with the illegals and all the rest of it without getting into the headache of boards of directors of our organizations." —MARY JARSHAW in Ottawa.

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The world of Alex Colville

By Gillian MacKay

In August, 1945, young Canadian war artist Alex Colville spent a day's leave at the Louvre in Paris. The war had ended and so had what he jokingly called his "Vigilantism" (military service). The day's pen and watercolor sketches of battlefields, blasted villages and, finally, the mass graves at the Belton death camp that haunted his nights for years afterward. Colville wandered in delight through the painted halls of the Louvre, marveling that while Europe lay in ruins these masterpieces of civilization had survived. Although he had never visited a great museum before, the confident 22-year-old was encouraged rather than overwhelmed by the experience. "What I wanted to know was, is it possible to make great art?" Colville recalls. "So I went to the Louvre and saw that, yes, it was."

Hunting. Since then Colville has strived to create the kind of art that could hang on these hallowed walls. And last week a major retrospective of his work opened at the Art Gallery of Ontario, proving resoundingly that in Canada, at least, his artistic immortality is now assured. During the 35 years since the war, he has spent his time enriching a national culture which he found empty and primitive. His haunting, meticulously crafted, lovely life—from the trademark child swinging rope in a bleak schoolyard in 1968 to the well-aged couple getting a night's snuck from the refrigerator in 1977—have become symbols of excellence for a young nation growing up. Not since the heyday of the Group of Seven has an artist's vision permeated so deeply the lives of Canadians: his elegant designs for the Centennial coin have graced the pockets of the nation, and his famous image of a dark horse leaping on a reflection course

with a train graced the cover of a best-selling record album by Bruce Cockburn. Says Toronto gallery owner Mike Godard, who represents some of the most celebrated names in contemporary art: "He is Canada's most important artist." But since 1967, when the prestigious Marlborough Fine Art Gallery in London became the exclusive dealer for Colville's minutely detailed acrylic paintings, Canadian art lovers have had

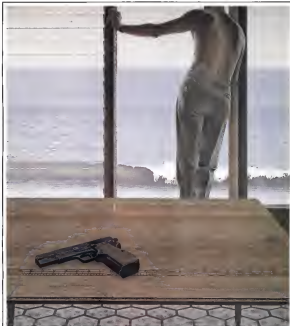
In the world of art, a retrospective is often seen as the kiss of death, a clear indication that a painter's best years are over. But neither age nor the weight of his own legend on heavily on Alex Colville. At 62, he is in his prime, a true, vigorous man who leads a charmed existence with his wife, Rhoda, in Waukegan, N.B. This day, in the world of art, although Colville's essentially tragic new takes his privileges far beyond the realm of sentimental snapshots from the family album. Through a range of new familiar techniques—from motion, high-contrast medium, series lighting, cropped hands and dramatic compositions—he has built an ordinary event, such as his family getting into their car in *Family and Doghouse* (1985), with the mounting air of a Hitchcock film. Even a gentler work like *Refrigerator* (1977) is charged with an understated mood of celebration and lament for a precious moment that must pass.

"Obsession." Colville's sources of inspiration have remained close to home, but they have not lost their power. His recent paintings, such as the 1988 self-portrait *Target Point and Moon*, are among his best and reflect a subtle transition from the cool, impersonal classicism of the early work to a more conscious and specific romanticism. In the self-portrait, the artist, who for years appeared as his own paintings hidden behind his wife, his dog or sunglasses, finally shows his face. In the foreground is the artist, a symbol of his preoccupation with art and with the emotional view that man must confront his own mortality in order to appreciate the fullness of life. The gun, Colville feels, is the most striking one of our era. An Toronto art critic Michael Grossman put it, "He has an obsession, and it has remained fresh."

Like visual poems, Colville's paintings leave the mind with questions to

Colville at work: razor-sharp images

While opportunities to see his work except in reproduction. Now, the retrospective of 57 paintings, seven prints and 95 preparatory drawings will put Colville squarely back in the public domain as it travels throughout Canada and to Germany during the next 13 months. In addition, an exhibition of 20 prints and drawings, which opened at the MIRA Godard Gallery in Toronto last week, will travel across Canada and on to England, Germany, Italy and Switzerland until the end of 1986.



which there is no final answer. That enigmatic quality annoys some critics, such as Toronto's *Lefty* Gary Michael Davis, who considers Colville's images "almost empty out of reach." But in Godard's view, it is precisely that "element of mystery" that makes the work so compelling. Others have found his drawing "graceful" and devoid of warmth, an assessment that Colville himself shares. But his detractors are easily outnumbered by his admirers, led by British critic Tessa MacLellan, who has called Colville "the most important realist in the Western world." His con-

Peace, posing disturbing questions

clusionism is shared by Canadian, German and U.S. collectors who pay as much as \$100,000 for one of the three works he produces each year. Colville enjoys telling a story about the owner of *Seven Crosses* (1980), who said, "I have three priorities in life: my family, my wife and this painting." The artist's annual limited edition of 75 colorless prints, priced this year at \$2,500 a piece, invariably sells out within several months, and there are waiting lists for favorites such as *Car and Arbor* (1979)

When such a print comes out, Godard says, "people will scratch your eyes out to get it."

But Colville has only achieved substantial financial success in the past decade. During the 1950s and early 1960s, when realism was out of vogue, he sold few works and supported his family by teaching art at Mount Allison University in Sackville, N.B., where he taught until 1967. Though his work at the university, Colville became a major influence on a number of students who went on to become prominent realists in their own right—among them

Christopher and Mary Peck, T.P. Brown, Tom Ferrellist and Hugh MacKenzie. But the essence of Colville's narrative integrity has perhaps been more inspiring to young painters than his actual style. Said Greenwald: "There is a man who has made his name his own way, regardless of fashion, and has come out on top."

From the beginning of his career Colville had no doubts about the way he wanted to paint. During the postwar period, when modern artists were rejecting representationalism, Colville stuck stubbornly to the then unfashionable notion that art must carry a message. In a brilliant 1961 speech outlining his philosophy of art, he compared the new design-oriented and abstract art to "some heretically played but pitiless mathematical game." Instead of turning his back on the world, he proposed that art should address such fundamental questions as "Who are we? What are we? What do we do?" While the abstract expressionists harried bores of paint at the canvas to express their visions of personal and public chaos, Colville believed that the artist had to do more than express his anguish. Fresh from the horrors of war and lacking the comfort of a religious faith, he felt that his responsibility was to stare into the void and find meaning. Says Colville quizzically: "I have an enormous desire to make sense out of things."

When asked: Like Dorothy in *The Wizard of Oz*, he eventually found that sense in his own backyard. It flows from his attachment to a small community, from his devotion to Rhode, his children—Gabriel, John, Charles and Ann—and to domestic animals, which he regards as more fully responsive to most people. Colville dislikes the anonymity of cities and is clearly happiest on his home turf in Winfield, a quiet traditional town of 3,200 in the lush Narragansett Valley, where Rhode's ancestors settled 220 years ago. Since 1975 they have lived in the handsome stone house which her father, a prosperous contractor, built in 1920—the same house in which she was born and where she and Alex married in 1943. Rhode's strong sense of tradition and belonging exalts her husband like a warm cloak. "I am, in a sense, mother," he said, settling contentedly into a chair in the library, which, like every other room in the house, is filled with fine antiques, comfortable furniture and his own possessions. "It is a somewhat unpleasant thought, that I am an artist and live off other people and investments and is also, in a certain sense, nobody."

Colville is deeply aware of the contrasts between his and Rhode's back-

grounds. Born in a tiny new house in Toronto in 1920, Colville moved with his family to St. Catharines, Ont., when he was nine and to Amherst, N.S., when he was nine. There, his Scotch-born father advanced to a low-level management job at a steel company owned by Dominion Bridge, exchanging his former worker's uniform for a suit and tie.

As the younger of two sons, Alex was somewhat spoiled, always beautifully dressed and never forced to work in the summer, despite the family's modest income. At the age of nine he almost did

ville says that he was never sent to church school, "probably because my mother sensed it would be a social disadvantage."

As the younger of two sons, Alex was somewhat spoiled, always beautifully dressed and never forced to work in the summer, despite the family's modest income. At the age of nine he almost did

venture stories and later T.H. Lawrence's *Sons and Poets of Wisdom* and H.G. Wells's *Experiment in Autobiography*. Experiment, an account of a boy from a modest background who becomes a scientist and writer, inspired Colville with a sense of the possibilities beyond Amherst. When he graduated from high school, the clever, self-confi-

d son who had taught him during the summer, "Will I be poor?" Only after hearing the answer—"No"—did he choose art.

Intensely aware of his parents' own disappointments, Colville has carefully charted his own course in a straight line, with remarkably few false turns. Robert Hubbard, a former curator at

some that you imagine John Milton and St. Augustine were serious. That means he takes everything he does seriously—how serious his work and these artists."

Colville's casual conversation, both in his life and art, has been to Rhode. "I remember thinking," he said, "that if, for some bizarre reason, I had to choose between my wife and my art, I would choose my wife." During the two years between 1944 and 1946, when he was in Europe, he wrote every day to Rhode, who gave birth to their first son, Graham, while he was away. His war diary from the summer of 1944 is filled with such entries as "Had headache in evening. Lay up near radio tower until 3:45 when show started. It was Betty Grable—as I left and wrote to Rhode." His paintings from the early 1950s, such as *Soldier and Girl at Station*, are filled with images of loneliness and longing. Since then he has collected Rhode in an endless series of poses: herbelonging in laundry, putting on her bra, carrying a canoe, riding her bicycle and standing as her head. His serene handling of the shapely nude in a tent in June Noon (1963) takes the popular image of Colville as a cold, unfeeling painter. Colville has nicknamed his wife and himself "Lies" and "Lovers" and the harmonious being in tune with existence and the restless strive after self-knowledge. Typically, in *Couple on the Beach* (1967), the man in the suit, crouched almost wearily before the reclining woman who seems a part of the landscape. Still David Barnett, curator of the retrospective: "The reason their marriage is so successful is that she does not have that inner reserve. She is open and warm, which makes him reflect upon what he feels to be his coldness."

Leads. Because of his devotion to Rhode, undoubtedly Colville's best successful work, *Made and Dummy* (1966), focused her in an attic staring over her shoulder at a dressmaker's dummy. In the almost neutralistic pose, Colville first employed the kind of composition that became a standard feature of his mature style. His careful method of constructing a painting along clear lines of perspective within a tight geometric framework derives from such early Italian Renaissance painters as Masaccio and Piero della Francesca. Colville's overwhelming need to make sense of the world required this laid, rational approach to composition.

Although Colville in the 1950s was as willfully polite to experiment with Renaissance geometry, it suited Colville. His lack of sympathy with the progress of modern art meant he had little interest in being class in any contemporary sense. He has no aversion to watching other artists, who he considers "just boring as hell." He is so



Rhode and Alex Colville: celebration

of peramania, and during his long convalescence he began to draw, an interest that persisted throughout high school. Out of the traumatic break with death Colville developed a deeply introspective nature. There were few books at home, so he asked friends' libraries for anything he could find—first boys' ad-

vent young man was able to choose between a scholarship to Dalhousie University in Halifax, where he would have studied law, and one at Mount Allison. His parents were fully prepared to let him study painting, a fact that he is reluctant to credit his social studies. Colville, on the other hand, was hard-nosed about his career. He asked Stanley Bayle, an art teacher from Mount All-

the National Gallery of Canada, who has known Colville since he was a war artist, recalled, "Even as a young man he was somehow very formed and developed." Colville was deeply affected by existentialist philosophy and its emphasis on making his, responsible commitments. And his friend George Thompson, "He is deeply serious, not in the sense that he never smiles but in the



COVER

fan of the Group of Seven, preferring instead such American painters as Edward Hopper, Ben Shahn and Grant Wood. It is clear that Colville does not want to be swallowed up by anything—by the art world, by the community of his life, even by nature itself. He dislikes the Canadian West Coast and, during 32 years in the Maritimes, has never bothered to visit Cape Breton. The empty, desolate work world of Shelville and of Capadocia in nature as a whole provided an ideal breeding ground for his art.

Horse and Tusk: To Prince Edward Island, he has an obsession and it has remained there.



so perfect financially that he even sold life insurance to make ends meet. In 1946 he represented Canada at the prestigious Venice Biennale and was wooed by leading European art dealer Harry Fisher of the Marlborough. After Colville's critically acclaimed shows in Haverford and London in 1948-49, his international reputation was secure.

As his fame has spread in the past decade, so has the image of Colville as a master figure psychologically fused with guns. Of 122 paintings, in fact, only three feature weapons. *Purple* (1967), *In the Woods* (1978) and the self-portrait. For Colville, who belongs to his local target-pistol club, the gun symbolizes the need to be armed and aware in a world he regards as increasingly "fragile." During a 30-month teaching stint at the University of California in Santa Cruz in 1967-68, he be-

came alarmed by student violence and the disintegration of society. There, he painted the powerful *Purple*, which portrays the back of a man looking out on the ocean with a gun sitting on a table in the foreground. It poses disturbing, unanswerable questions. Colville says that he only paints people and situations he considers "wholly good." But, for the viewer, the artist's assertion does not banish the sense of dread.

Nothing could be farther from that threatening world than the idyllic frame cottage near Shelville, where the Colvilles can sit on a chair on a summer night and watch the setting sun flooding Minus Beach with rosy, transcendental light. Sheila has been visiting the cottage since she was a child, and the neighbors are old friends, one of them a witness at the Colvilles' wedding. Several years ago, on a visit from Toronto, Godard suggested that they buy the adjacent cottages and tear them down for more privacy—a proposal that highly aroused the community-spirited artist and his wife. As the artist tells his big-city friends who ask why he hates to travel: "I am a provincial, I am like an Israeli. There is something I have to get back to."

Whether cycling to the cottage on his Island sourcing trips or stopping down Main Street in his \$28,000 Mercedes-Benz convertible, jauntily dressed in a blue-and-white striped T-shirt, shorts and loafing shoes, Colville exudes a distinctive and

popular figure. Invariably cordial and congenial, he takes care to wave or talk to certain prickly local characters who would be offended if he did not. He serves on the local parks and trees committee, and since 1983 he has been chancellor of Acadia University, whose small by Longsight campus dominates the town. Outside Shelville, Colville is in great demand as a speaker on the university circuit and he has served on both the Canada Council and on the visiting committee

of the National Gallery.

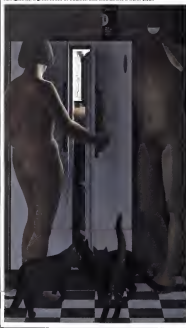
But the flip side of that civic-minded persona is an intensely private man who has little interest in playing the role of a celebrity. His idea of a wonderful evening is a long dinner over wine with his wife at home, followed by some Tchaikovsky on the stereo or Wordsworth read aloud. His new-found wealth has allowed him to indulge his boyish enthusiasm for beautiful machines and what he describes as his voracious love of chicken, custom-made British

suits, custom-made sweaters and dapper hats. Says Colville, flashing a radiant grin: "As Max West said: 'I've been rich and I've been poor. Rich is better.'" But friends and family say financial security has changed his little. He spends his days much as he always has, rising at 7 a.m. to walk his beloved dog, Dena. Most mornings are spent in his spare, white-walled studio, where the sun floods in through the skylight over the high table at which he works. When a car crashes, even Elton's new drawings in his studio in 1965, it caused him, for reasons he cannot explain, to abandon the idea he was working on. Since then, he has harmed most visitors from entering. As he says with a trace of embarrassment, "It seemed like a kind of curse."

Private. Maintaining what Colville calls the "state of grace" necessary for him to work involves saying no to many of the demands on his time—social invitations, such as the recent lieutenant governor's garden party in Halifax, or such handshakes as serving on the Appleton-Hibbert cultural committee, a job from which he resigned after one year. Above all, it means saying part of his soul from the prying eyes of the public. Even his friend of 30 years George Thomson, with whom he enjoys long, rambling discussions about art, literature and philosophy, knows that it is futile to probe too deeply into areas such as the dark side of Colville's paintings. Typically, the artist avoids such questions with a kind of Oriental politeness, diverting the topic with one of his eloquent and entertaining free-form monologues. Says Thomson: "Even now I feel I do not know him well. There is something there, something firmly under control, that he does not show."

Colville's burning desire to keep an painting grows out of that unbreakable core. He notes that the Renaissance painter Titian was thought to have painted his masterpiece *Death of Actaeon* in his 80s, and Colville himself hopes to have 20 years of work ahead of him. Although he claims not to believe in an afterlife, he clearly has faith in the immortality of his art. Even if he never enters the pantheon of artists hanging in the Louvre, in his own mind he has reached the goal: he set for himself long ago. Sitting serenely in the Art Gallery of Ontario as his paintings were being assembled around him, Colville expressed supreme confidence in history's verdict. "It was never trying to be an A. T. Jackson, but rather a Vincent van Gogh or a Rembrandt," he said. "I always thought I was in that league." As Canadian eyes face to face with Colville's lifetime achievement, it will be clear that they have a master in their midst. □

Religiosity: a great sense of tradition that exerts like a warm cloak





Nelford in his sixth year of the PGA tour things are finally falling into place

SPORTS

The prime of Jim Nelford

One March evening in 1981 Jim Nelford was the only golfer on the practice tee at the San Juan Heritage Classic on Hilton Head Island, S.C. Nelford stood back after ball into the twilight. Few were where he intended them to be, and when he was through Nelford slumped against a tree, exhausted by his wasted efforts. "This is no fun at all," he told his caddy. "I've hit 10 buckets of balls and I have no idea what I'm doing. I'm hitting the ball all over the place and I don't know why."

These days are gone now for the 38-year-old professional from Burnaby, B.C. who comes into this week's Canadian Open at the Glen Abbey Golf Club in Oakville, Ont., a changed person and Canada's best hope for winning the tournament in prize. Nelford has developed a golf swing and game as smooth as his personality and good looks. Through the United States Open in mid-June, after which he took a break

from the tour, Nelford had won \$97,566 (in the toughest league in golf) (last year he won a total of only \$48,300). And during a break from the PGA tour he won the two tournaments he entered the Royal International Golf Classic in Windsor, Ont., and the British Columbia Open in Vancouver. While neither tournament ranks with PGA tour events, they were at least new, something he has not been able to achieve on the big tour.

That Nelford was even playing in Windsor and Vancouver was a direct result of having finished in the top 125 money winners on the PGA tour last year. He can now play in almost any tournament he chooses this season without qualifying. "I had no security at all until this year," Nelford says. "I think it was twice as hard to qualify for a tournament as it is to make a decent cheque when you're in." However, the fear that prevented Nelford's game once

from the qualifying rounds and from his own experience when he arrived as a tour in 1979 after graduating from Brigham Young University in Utah. He did not know how difficult the tour would be, nor did he appreciate how great the burden of being Canada's next hope on the PGA tour would be.

Said Nelford: "I felt I was letting Canadians down if I didn't do well. I also found myself in awe of the U.S. golfers. Back home I had put their pictures on my bedroom wall, and now I was playing with them. I didn't know if I belonged. These were big guys, men that were self-imposed. It took me a while to realize that no matter how well or badly I played, it wasn't going to change anybody else's life much, but that it could sure change mine. I've also gotten to where I don't care who I play with. I'm just out there playing golf."

Nelford's adjustment is a major factor in his dramatic improvement to 38 on the money list this year. No longer does he research himself for a poor shot. His swing is sound and he trusts it again. "Look," he says, "even Tom Watson makes bad swings. But he doesn't follow one bad shot with another. I used to make a bogey and get so upset with myself that I might make two or three more right away. Now I tend to concentrate on the good swings and forget the bad ones. I just notice them now. They eras me."

The perfectionist in Nelford has yielded to a more tolerant component of his personality. At the San Juan Heritage Classic in March, he berated the 12th and 14th holes on the final day on network TV to the far left. Eventually, he finished second, earning \$27,560 (U.S.) his biggest paycheck. "I remember getting ready for that last round and actually looking forward to playing," said Nelford. "Golf was fun for me again. I wasn't even thinking about winning or losing. I was just trying to see how well I could finish. If I was, fine."

When Nelford joined 158 other players in the Canadian Open, he was the face of the Nelford Navy who saw a new, composed, confident captain. "I finally learned what it takes to do well on tour," he says. "People are still asking me if I'm disappointed that I haven't won on the main tour. I'm not. I know that PGA tour guys still happen to be playing watched others, like Watson, who by playing one shot at a time, Nelford finally feel that some of it has rubbed off on him. "It's been a hell of a good year so far, and I just plan to keep doing the same thing," played long for a bit of time out here. It's a major victory for me just to get back to playing the kind of golf I'm capable of." And that can be very good indeed.

—LENN RICHMOND in Toronto.

BOOKS

Another brave new world

ALGEBRA

By Jerrold Rifkin
(Penguin Books, 288 pages, \$19.95)

Prophecy is second nature to Jerrold Rifkin. In 1980 he wrote *Algebra*, a popular science best seller unapologetically subtitled "A new world view." Now, a blurb for *Algebra*, his most recent projection of current trends in science, announces that it "will utterly change the world our children inherit." Although Rifkin's sense may be imperfect, nobody can accuse him of being prophetic.

The title echoes "alchemy" and refers to the miracles that will result from genetic engineering. Rifkin actually takes for granted what less enlightened folk clearly fear: that by manipulating genes, humans may be able to control any form of life they desire. In an agile and insightful synthesis, he traces how that revolution perfectly complements cybernetics—information-processing through computer science, the dominant technology of our age.

To treat the stage for this new world order, Rifkin clears away the old by claiming that all attempts to explain nature are just rationalizations of the societies that created them, in his words, "People create cosmologies to sanctify their behavior." He then wastes 100 busy pages on the last vestige of Darwin's theory of evolution, the foundation of the old cosmology that *Algebra* tears down, but his conclusions are persuasive.

From the perspective of science, Rifkin is correct in saying that biotechnology marks the end of "natural" history. In time, whatever revolutionary forces have governed the origin and delineation of species will be irrelevant if mankind chooses to assume full control of all living things. From an ethical perspective, moreover, efficiency and predictability will become golden rules. If a woman has reason to believe her offspring may inherit a genetically transmitted disease, Rifkin suggests that it will be considered a crime if she does not submit the fetus' genes to therapeutic engineering after conception.

Much of this sounds like the Brave New World revisited. What *Algebra* bluntness proclaimed in horror, Rifkin documents and legitimizes through the new religion of cybernetics. Evolution is not, as Darwin said, animals competing for scarce resources, but a race among organisms to process information. In the new order the marriage of cybernet-

ics and biology is in fact already bearing late theoretical fruit. Even an Rifkin writes, genetic engineers are creating biocomputers (based on a protein "backlog" instead of a memory) that will be incorporated into human brains, control all life functions, think and reproduce themselves.

Everything in *Algebra* is possible, but little is real. The book is pop science at its best and worst, provocative in conception and thoroughly banal in execution. An economist by profession, Rifkin is a purveyor of apocalyptic scenarios, from philosopher Alfred North Whitehead to creationist Duane Gish, are indiscriminately ground to the same tasteless consistency. Far more terrifying than what Rifkin says is how he says it. Only someone compelled to write "humanism" instead of "life" would bother saying that the word "industrial" came from the Latin "industria." At the same time, the most obvious questions about political control are left unanswered nowhere does this high priest of power ponder who will be responsible for engineering all these scrupulous genes. For all his forecasts, Rifkin's vision of the future remains clouded. —MARK CHALKINSON

MACLEAN'S BEST-SELLER LIST

Fiction

- 1 *The Little Drummer Girl*, J.K. Gallop (2)
- 2 *Christmas, King (3)*
- 3 *White Gold Warbler*, Davidson (3)
- 4 *Academy*, Eberhard, Under (3)
- 5 *2010: Odyssey Two*, Clarke (3)
- 6 *Valer of the Heart*, Gordimer (3)
- 7 *Flooding Brazos*, Strach (3)
- 8 *The Summer of Rats*,
- 9 *Amorati*, Kato (3)
- 10 *Amorati*, Kato (3)

Nonfiction

- 1 *In Search of Excellence*, Peters and Waterman Jr. (3)
- 2 *Magnum's*, Nisbett (3)
- 3 *The Last Lion*, Montcalm (3)
- 4 *The Outpost People*, Mowat (3)
- 5 *The P-Pink Book*, Eyles (3)
- 6 *Joe Foweraker's Worst Book*, Foweraker (3)
- 7 *The Love You Make*, Brown and Green (3)
- 8 *Everyday Service*, Barry (3)
- 9 *Out on a Limb*, MacLean (10)
- 10 *The Price of Power*, Mowat

(3) Figures last week

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Allen and Farrow: Zelig is an enormous stride in his development as a stylist

FILMS

Changing with the times

ZELIG

Directed by Woody Allen

Woody Allen's new movie, *Zelig*, is the height of chutzpah. Allen has shot his tale of a human chameleon named Leonard Zelig (whom he plays) in black-and-white documentary style, blending it with actual newsreel footage from the 1920s and 1930s. During that period, Zelig achieves celebrity for his incredible ability to change, at will, his voice or physical type to become his nearest, to a black, he darkest in class proximity to an obese man, he begins to lose. When the world at large discovers his frankishness, he becomes the darling of the press and its eager readers—the centre of a three-ring circus. A chase called "The Chameleon" (people flip their arms, kick their legs and stick out their tongues), is named after his "difference." Such such as, *You May Be So People, But I Love You*, are compared in his honor. And throughout it all, Leonard Zelig grows increasingly miserable, terrified by the glare of the limelight.

Sadora Fletcher (Mia Farrow), the psychiatrist who becomes fascinated with him, discovers that Zelig's condition has enough exactly the opposite effect of that which he intended. He initially develops his uneasy powers to allow himself to fit into any environ-

ment: an extreme form of psychological projection. Like many people, Zelig has a desperate need to be liked, and so great that he engages in extreme physical metamorphosis. The technique backfires soon Zelig, inspired by his sudden removal, swings to another extreme, replacing his old Miquelmont persona with an aggressive, abrasive one. When fever, more fickle than fate, turns the tide against him, he experiences even deeper, more painful confusion, and realizes. Public curiosity becomes powerful as opponents war Zelig, blaming his numerous alter egos for various purported wrongdoings. Zelig (the word means "blessed" in Yiddish) has no defence, in fact, Zelig has little left to sell his own.

An satirical satire on society's insatiable attachment to the rites of celebrity, Zelig deals with a state the real Woody Allen has taken great, and often unsuccessful, pains to avoid. Allen has gone this route before in the dismal *Shoreline Memories*, but the crinkly, petty tone of that mistake has evaporated. For the most part, the rule of the hapless, unwilling hero is a symbol, and it makes Allen better than a "real" character, although Zelig the man is allowed to emerge by the end of the film. The surreal distance both Allen and the nation from the viewers, whose role, appropriately enough, is that of onlookers and strangers. The only moments of

intimacy are in the teaching psychiatric sessions with Fletcher, with whom Zelig falls in love. One of the movie's sweet and subtle points is that intimacy between two people—not between one and a horse—is the only valuable kind.

Technically, Zelig, an array of brilliant textures, is unimpeachable, and it represents an enormous stride in Allen's development as a stylist. Working with his longtime collaborator, cinematographer Gordon Willis, he finds a pure and graceful visual tone befitting to life what could have been a merely clever and arch idea. Actual and fictional footage blend beautifully, and images have a soft, quirky glow. Zelig is drenched in nostalgia and is, in a sense, a distillation of it. It stings for a long time in the mind and its glass is regally with reflection.

Allen punned with the melancholy that pervades Zelig in *Amos Hall* and *Moskowitz*, but ultimately the gaps and the punner's personality overshadowed it. Though there are gaps in Zelig (a lot of good ones, a few cheap shots), Allen largely keeps his comic persona in line; the story of a funny little man named Leonard Zelig takes over that of a funny little man named Woody Allen. The psychiatrist decides to play Zelig's own game and explains that she has been lying about who she is. Zelig, who has been lying about his true self, responds: "You need help, lady." That is a quintessentially old-fashioned Woody Allen one-liner. But later, when he tells her why he loves her ("You're all mixed up and nervous"), it is much more in keeping with what Zelig is all about—the difficulty people have simply being themselves.

—LAWRENCE O'POUL



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Faint praise for older women

CLASS

Directed by Lewis John Carbone

As an actress, Angelique Bisset has a penchant for making love. In the oldest places in her (last movie, *Rock and Roll*), she obliged someone in the laundry of an airplane, in *Class* she seduced her son's roommate (Andrew McCarthy) in a glamorous sleazebag bathroom. Bisset, who is a pill-popping dipsomaniac who nonetheless manages to look the picture of health—is impressively brutal. Her son (Rob Lowe) discovers her and the boy fragments deeply, and by the end of the movie the adult world has to go to the aid of the older woman who has lost her mind. Older women who harbor fantasies of having affairs with sensitive young men should be warned of the price that must be paid.

Miscreants are heavily warned about *Class*, which hinges on the barely credible premise that the son's romance would just happen to walk into a Chicago bar and that the mother would just happen to take carnal pity on him. *Class* asks an audience to believe, as well, that the miscreant mother would continue to call the young roommate after the scandal, begging to see him, and that he would display the wisdom of the ages, telling her how little she would profit from such a meeting. Perhaps, if the older woman is short to count herself, all this is believable. Such a debate will surely pit gas miscreants for years.

Prepubescent mothers for years. Prepubescent mothers aside, *Class* seems most concerned with the relationship between the roommates and the prepubescent boys play at prep school. The rich kid, played by Lowe with the assurance of a model in a fashion layout, is of course a renegade, a nutcase and the product of an unhappy home. The bright, sensitive one (McCarthy) manages to slip in some charm, despite the odds, in a skirt and remains so until he loses his virginity. And the son of an overbearing rich father (Oli Robertson) has all that stereotype needs: some bang-like incoherence and heady angst.

The people who made *Class*, including director Lewis John Carbone, who directed the radically different and much more sensitive *The Great Silence*, are so sure. They give away young rebellion the one even better than *Pretty*: the idea—the fantasy of an affair with a fabulously wealthy, gorgeous, miscreant older woman. The boys finally achieve their difference, who's back-down, drag-out fight, leaving mother to the miscreants of the people in whose *Class* certainly has diminished its title in the miscreant of the year. —L.O.T.

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Scuseman and Happle, an aggressively unconventional comedy of manners

Players in a baroque game

THE DRAUGHTSMAN'S CONTRACT
Directed by Peter Greenaway

Both rolling lawns and measured speech are immaculately clipped in *The Draughtsman's Contract*. The year is 1684. Fugle's face, softly lit by candlelight, rises from under massive wigs. Their dialogue is arch and staccato, as in the film. *The Draughtsman's Contract* is an aggressively unconventional comedy of manners, often irritatingly and intentionally obscure, yet watchable as long as the viewer can stay awake. No emotion approaching happiness ever emerges from the baroque luster. The characters are only interested in stratagems, rapiers and opportunistic, rape, not blood, seems to run through their veins.

The most openly opportunistic character is Mr. Neville (Anthony Higgins), a moderately talented draftsman. Mrs. Herbert (Janet Suzman) prevails upon him to draw her husband's estate while he is away. Mr. Neville names his demanding terms, which include sexual access to Mrs. Herbert whenever he pleases.

But Mr. Neville is not as smart as he thinks. Although he takes great pains to make the grounds pristine for the purposes of drawing, unwanted objects begin to show up—a cat, a pair of boots and a ladder, suggesting that the absent Mr. Herbert may indeed be the victim of foul play. Or so his daughter (Anze Louise Lambert) suggests and she

blackmails the cocky Mr. Neville into servicing her. As a murder mystery, *The Draughtsman's Contract*, after it has shown how the tables are turned on the opportunist, leaves the audience to draw its own conclusions, if any. Throughout, a made status (Official Frost) comes to life repeatedly to disrupt the proceedings—one of these places of symbolism that, while playful, serves little purpose other than to confuse the viewer further. The film is about games and it is also a game itself that the writer-director, British avant-gardist Peter Greenaway, plays with the audience.

There is some fascination in the setting, the visuals, the scenic camera style and the barbed dialogue. Explaining why her husband has refused to clean the water in the estate's moat, Mrs. Herbert reveals that he is disgusted by the fish. "I dare love too long. They remind him of Catholics." The performances, too, are enjoyable: it is still a relief when British actors wrap their tongues around monosyllables, especially in such mannered circumstances. But the circumstances of *The Draughtsman's Contract* begin to pall. Clearly, Greenaway means to alienate his audience and force it to feel disgust for the idle, exaggeratedly bourgeois life that he has placed before it on a platter. Although the film is entertaining for a while, it is still weighty, like all the wigs and headpieces.

—LAWRENCE O'TOOLE

Another bite of a proven formula

JAWS 3-D

Directed by Joe Alton

Although it is not nearly as exciting as the original, *Jaws 3-D* does have its moments of giddy fun. On the day before the opening of a marina festival called Sea World of Florida, a shark enters the complex through an unlocked underwater gate and wrecks havoc. The marine biologist (Ross Anderson) wants to save the creature, but Sea World's manager (Louis Gossett Jr.) in a performance not likely to win him his second Oscar transfers it to another tank as an added attraction, and the creature dies. The marine biologist's boyfriend (Dennis Quaid), who supervised the construction of the complex, is preparing to leave for a new job in Venezuela. Will she follow him, or will they split up? Thankfully, the "love theme" is put aside for a more pressing matter: to everyone's surprise, the shark's men and womanly member goes into Sea World, and nobody is safe as she sets her way through watermakers, customers and technicians.

Shot in 3-D, the third *Jaws* rating is at least apt on the eyes. But there seems to have been no particular reason for using the process visually; the shark attacks do not benefit from 3-D. Otherwise, too many objects are imposed on the viewer, who is active behind uncomfortable padded and tinted glasses. The effective moments in *Jaws 3-D* result from a much simpler technique: put someone in the water, play thumping music and let him wait for the arrival of Himself. Obviously, there are no frontal shots of the shark to create the illusion of it speeding out of the screen.

Still, the movie-makers have outdone themselves in dreaming up every possible variation on the shark-bites-man story and the fun-to-see-an-astro-sphere. This time there is more underwater photography and two even bigger dolphins who save the day. And there is even a forced reference to Steven Spielberg's original *Jaws*: the bartender of the Florida Quaid character is Anny, the Long Island setting of the first film. There is no ritual or madness as to add some verbal ripon and narrative tension—merely a pair of the neck photographic (Shane MacGurkendale), whom it is clear the shark will eventually attack. But the screaming herds and the poof of the member shore are good for a chuckle. The result of *Jaws 3-D* is a mother's love is no blessing

—L.O.T.

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Brian Mulroney's honeymoon

By Douglas Fisher

A new party leader, Brian Maloney contended to a journalist that he had a weakness. "That's alcohol," I would say. He says to me that, but I guess it's still there." His acute sensitivity to criticism is made clear by his reaction to the well-known fact he is as persistent and persuasive in dealing with government reporters and politicians over many years. He raised the issue of information access in the House of Commons. Over the past three years he sponsored a private member's bill in the House of Commons that led to a regular stream of anti-CIA tales that fed reporters through two men as the chiefs of pro-Maloney news. During the past year, he has been particularly strong in his loyalty to his leader. As Claude Argue, veteran Gazette reporter, wrote after Maloney's triumph, "... the fact remains his leadership has been a major force while Maloney has been in the front line."

Being thin-skinned is a serious weakness in a politician, particularly in one who doesn't hesitate to hand out criticism or manipulate its creation. Every new incumbent, whether to a more seat in the House or as party leader, expects and usually gets a honeymoon period during which expectations are high and doubts are muted. The flip in this for the body politic is that political perceptions of a new leader go in the unceremonious entrance of the honeymoon.

The Money situation has improved because I am an amoral journalist about one matter we need a new government, a new governing party, in Ottawa. The ruling party has been "too long." The Prime Minister has been too dominant over a most mediocre ministry, and he's been unnecessarily contentious and ungracious. Both authority and spending programs have gotten too far away from either examination or restraint by elected members of Parliament. The country, I would argue, needs a new administration with a few simple commitments, such as to sound, new

The party with the obvious chance to replace the Liberals is now led by Brian Mulroney. Never before has a federal party taken such a flyer: a new leader without any experience in parliamentary politics. It's possible Mulroney may be effective in leading a parliamentary Opposition, as was George Drew of

Joe Clark before him. He may match the Chief of 1968 in pulling up votes and seats. He may even become a successor prime minister like Robert Mulroney. But in winning him and the party well, I have a hard time submerging my apprehensions. In part, these fears stem from his inexperience, and that can only be cured by many hours in the House and in caucus and brawls. But more disturbing are the indications that we may have another Trudeau-type "intimate leader" on our hands. One prays for a fresh prime minister with a real sense of team play and a genuine sharing of authority with cabinet and caucus.

There are such stylistic and physical differences between Trudeau and Mulroney that some may find it first at ghostly parallels. Mulroney seems so full of blarney, "soft sewer" and gradecross—a cross between the best of Bruce Markers and George Hees—

The Tory leader depends almost totally on platitudes and clichés. He'll very quickly become his own satire

One of the surprises about Trudeau had its roots in the fact that he was personally wealthy as well as personally ascetic on matters like food, fitness and sleep. Few of us anticipated that he would so relish both the perquisites of office and the assignment of patronage. He's revelled in placing worshippers and cronies in posts and in promoting advisors and sycophants. As a denizen of "Wat City," one could live as well with the manifest squandering if there had been a model of personal restraint and

frugality at 24 Sumner Drive rather than a spending prodigal. With Maloney, the staff of so much of his chat has been about patronage—jobs and rewards. He made the Clark administration's tardiness in filling hundreds of places with Terres into the sort of cardinal sin he wouldn't commit. To Maloney, politics seems largely about the "ins" and the "outs." The joy of being "in" has only a modicum of doing great things together.

Trudeau has pointed out the similarities between his views on language and bilingual policies and those of Mulroney. So we shall have from Mulroney, as from Trudeau, the same perspective in appraising the sweep of Canada: a perspective from east of centre. The implicit goal will continue to be "national unity," shaped and managed by Ottawa, and another high-profile, presidential kind of chief executive, akin in personality and likely more anxious to please than to decide.

As one who lost my Brian Mulroney as a would-be politician on his first me too three life years ago, it's uncanny how the two aspects that stood out then are still so prominent. First, the boyish charm. Mulroney's smile, his easy way with the press, physical beauty and the love of a woman, all made him a very likable, resonant being. Second, the almost total dependence on platitudes for ideas and clichés for vocabulary.

If that's the basic Mulroney—what I call the "boyish Mulroney"—what I call the "boyish Mulroney" was "perceived shallowness"—he will very quickly become his own caricature, shied by liberal partisans who, whatever their other failings, have a gift for caricaturing a rival politician's style and personality. I think that's why Mulroney will be found wandering after a year or so as Opposition leader, not because he will be demoted on the floor of the House by Trudeau or Broadbent but because he is so much more intent on attaining power than willing to reform himself. He is a man who is to be feared and kind, our recent voyage.

Douglas Fisher is a syndicated columnist for The Toronto Star in Ottawa.



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